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ATTACHMENT TO CHILDHOOD PLACES IN ADULT MEMORY AND
BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANT'S SENSE OF WELL-BEING IN THE USA

A Dissertation Presented

by

JOAO MENEZES DE SÁ

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

February 1998

School of Education

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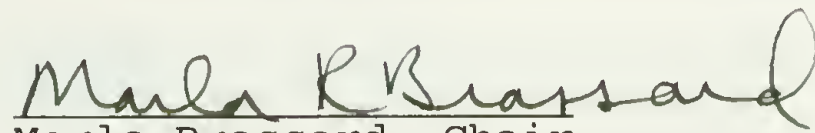
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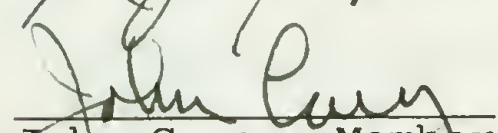
by


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ABSTRACT

ATTACHMENT TO CHILDHOOD PLACES IN ADULT MEMORY AND
BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANT'S SENSE OF WELL BEING IN THE USA

FEBRUARY 1998

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The goal of this study was to examine the Brazilian immigrant's memories of a childhood place (i.e., place lived between 6 to 15 years of age) and the influence of these memories on immigrant's sense of well-being in the USA, self-esteem, and the longing to return to homeland.

The subjects were 100 Brazilian immigrants (50 men and 50 women) who were at least age of eighteen years or older when they immigrated to USA and who have lived and are living in this country for least two years but not more than fifteen years.

Results showed no correlations between positive/negative feelings about childhood place and the immigrant's sense of well-being in the USA , nor was the immigrant's current self-esteem explained by memory about attachment to childhood place

or current well-being. Participants who had positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place had a higher association with the longing to return to the homeland than those who had a negative memory of childhood place. Men had more positive/pleasant memories of childhood place and a greater desire to return to homeland than women. Immigrants' narrative describing experience with childhood place supported the hypothesis that men and women experience place differently, i.e., their feelings about childhood place depend on their opportunity for self-actualization and type of experiences they had in that place.

The main topics remembered and described about childhood place focused on the "locus" of childhood place; childhood place was remembered as the arena for interpersonal relationships; childhood place was seen as the container for cultural values and the source for self-identity development; and memories of childhood place were described as a part of the self (i.e., ontological landscape) which had a great influence on immigrant's desire to return to homeland.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The literature on place is full of grand statements on the importance of that concept in human beings' personal and collective history. For example, Hugh Prince (1961), a social scientist, wrote that "a knowledge of places is an indispensable link in the chain of knowledge" (p. 22). E. Relph (1976), a humanistic geographer stated that "to be human is to live and to know your place" (p. 1). Yi-Fu Tuan (1987), a geographer, has described the importance of place, stating that: "Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and longing for the other... Space and place are basic components of the living world...." (p. 3). Eugene Victor Walter (1988), an environmental scientist, stated that "we belong to the location of our longing - to the place that we yearn for " (p. 101). For Martin Heidegger (1958), a phenomenological philosopher, place is where the phenomena of "Being" can be realized. He stated that "'place' places man in that dimension which reveals the revealing meaning of Being... 'place' places man in such a way that it reveals the external bounds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality" (p. 19). Peter Berger et al. (1974),

social scientists, noted that place has become a problem for the modern man. They stated that "modern man has suffered from a deepening condition of 'homelessness': The correlate of the migratory character of his experience of society and of self has been what might be called a metaphysical loss of 'home'" (p. 77).

The scholars mentioned above show that human beings live, act and orient themselves in a world that is richly and profoundly differentiated into places. However, historically, as Low and Altman (1992) stated: "attachment to place has been of interest primarily to earlier phenomenological scholars" (p. 1), such as Bachelard (1964) and Eliade (1959), and to "recent generations of phenomenologists with interests in environment-behavior issues" (p. 1). Scholars have analyzed place attachment from a variety of perspectives often focusing on homes and sacred places, and emphasizing the unique emotional experiences and bonds of people with places. (Buttimer & Seamon, 1980; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1982; Tuan, 1974; and others). Only recently psychology has been attracted to the conception of affective bonds between people and place (Chawla, 1992).

Attachment to place subsumes or is subsumed by a variety of analogous ideas in the literature, including topophilia (Tuan, 1974), place identity (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983), insidedness (Rowles, 1980), genres of place (Hufford, 1992), sense of place or rootedness (Chawla, 1992),

environmental embeddeness, community sentiment and identity (Hummon, 1992). The definitions of attachment to place vary from one investigator to another, in general these definitions contain three major ideas: (a) the content of the bond: affective, cognitive, and/or symbolic (e.g. Low, 1992); (b) the valence of the bond: positive or negative (e.g., Brown & Perkins, 1992); and (c) the specificity of the bond. Some authors consider attachment as a very broad concept, a superordinate category to designate the entire system of affects related to the environment (e.g. Chawla, 1992; Hummon, 1992; Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992). (See Chapter II for a complete analysis of the definition of attachment to place).

Low (1992) tried to integrate these definitions in a single one. She defined attachment to place as, "the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual's and group's understanding of and relation to the environment" (p. 165).

Low added a psychological aspect to her cultural definition saying that, place attachment "refers to the cognitive and emotional linkage of an individual to a particular setting or environment" (p. 165).

In this study attachment to place is viewed as a set of feelings about a geographic location that emotionally binds a person to that place as a function of its role as a setting

for experience. In other words, life experiences may have an emotional quality that suffuses the setting to produce an affective bond with the place itself. Attachment and attachment behavior have traditionally been viewed as arising from early life experiences within the dyad of child-caregiver (Bowlby, 1958). In this dissertation, a complementary view is taken, that attachment behavior and concerns are life course phenomena that also involve the nonhuman environment (Searles, 1959).

Marcus (1992) investigated adult memories of childhood places and concluded that these experiences are unique, accessible, and meaningful only to that person in that those specific memories embedded in place could not be fully experienced by anyone else. Marcus' (1992) findings supported the idea that "... these environments were richly connected with psychological processes that are part of human development in the middle years of childhood (approximately 6-12)" (p. 92). Cobb (1959; 1977) and Pearce (1977), also, argued that the middle years from 6 to 12 are genetically programmed for exploration of the world and bonding with nature. For Cobb and Pearce, these are the years when our species originally learned the wilderness skills necessary for survival. Prior findings suggest that:

1. Attachment to place is not a unitary dimension but, instead, social involvement in and subjective feeling toward a place can take several forms (Gerson et al. 1977).

2. People choose to become attached to places in different ways, depending on their personal needs, opportunities, and resources, and on the characteristics of the homes and places in which they live (Gerson et al., 1977).

3. Whereas a space is any defined piece of territory, a place has personal significance, a significance established through time spent in or with the space (Howell, 1983; Rowles, 1983). Personal experience, either direct or vicarious and social interaction lead the person to attach meaning to a defined space, as a result, within his or her own identity, it becomes a place.

4. Place attachment is a energized, compelling, or vivid affectual state born of one's linking significant life events, key developmental themes, or identity process with a particular environment (Rubinsten & Parmelle, 1992). An individual's unique experiences, both present and past, play a strong role in developing affective bonds with places by shaping the nature of interactions with and interpretations of physical environments.

5. Past personal experience with place in childhood can form bonds with that specific place that remain psychologically active and which influence attachment with current living places in adulthood (Cobb, 1959, 1977; Marcus 1992; Pearce, 1977).

Although, most scholars agree that childhood memories of attachment to place are important to adults, relatively little

has been done in understanding how children acquire a positive or negative affection to places where they have lived (Chawla, 1992). Also, there is lack of investigation that describes what kind of experiences - family, friends, cultural context and community in general - influence the adult person's recall of those places and affection toward them. And, as Chawla (1992) notes there is a, "nearly total lack of knowledge about the long-term effects of different qualities of place experience" (p. 83).

Another gap in the literature is the lack of research on immigration and attachment to place. Place attachment may be especially significant to immigrants for several reasons. First, feelings about one's experiences in key former places may be an important part of remembering one's life course and thus of organizing and accessing a lengthy life span. For an immigrant, attachment to key former places is one way of keeping the past alive and thus maintaining a sense of continuity, fostering identity, and protecting the self against deleterious change. Second, attachment to a former place may be a way of strengthening the self. It may act as a buffer, a means of retaining a positive self-image. Third, attachment to a former place may be a way of enacting or representing the cultural collective memory in the current living place. Fourth, spaces and views that surround us when we are children become, in the course of time, inner landscapes that are incorporated into our childhood memories

(Chawla, 1992; Marcus, 1992) which become part of the personal autobiographical memory and form part of a life narrative (Neisser, 1994).

This study examined the relationship among the immigrant's sense of well-being and the longing to return to the homeland in a sample of Brazilian immigrants in United States and memories of childhood attachment to place between the ages of 6 to 15 years. The focus of this investigation is on the interplay among the affective meanings assumed to underline the childhood memories of place attachment and satisfaction in the current living place and longing to return to homeland. Assuming that attachment to place is not limited to the physical landscape (Gerson et al., 1977; Kunze, 1987), this study incorporated multiple dimensions, such as:

(1) Social Activities: (a) institutional ties; (b) sociable neighboring; (c) organizational involvement; (d) nation; (e) service and facilities; (f) political participation; (g) economic situation; (h) jobs; (i) education;

(2) Experiences with intimacy: (a) Self; (b) Family; (c) satisfaction with neighborhood; (d) physical place; (e) home; (f) seasonal changes; (g) food; (h) interpersonal relationships; (i) Leisure and leisure-times facilities.

(3) Affect: (a) Self-enhancement; (b) longing for contact and union with the other; (d) positive (pleasant) feeling; (e) negative (unpleasant) feeling.

(4) Mobility: (a) Happy here/there; (b) sad to move here/there.

Chawla (1986), studying environmental autobiographies, found that the most frequent source of attachment to a remembered childhood place was its association with loved family members. Chawla (1986) analyzed childhood attachment to places in 38 randomly selected twentieth-century autobiographies, she found four patterns of attachment that emerged for her subjects: (a) affection; (b) transcendence; (c) ambivalence; and (d) idealization. Reley (1979), studying attachment to place through interview methodology, reported findings that suggested that for designers, planners, and design researchers their childhood experiences with place were a source of information in their daily life and that those professionals tend to perpetuate elements of the settings where they were happy children in their work. Marcus (1992) studying environmental autobiographies written by her own students came to the conclusion that the "... these earliest childhood places are powerful images, resonating into adulthood via memories, dreams, even the creative work of some adult designers" (p. 89). Cobb (1959), also, found that memories of childhood attachment to places are sources of creativity for poets, writers and artists.

Although, there are some empirical studies that investigated childhood place attachment in adult memory (Chawla, 1992; Cobb, 1959; Low, 1992; and Marcus, 1992), yet

there is no investigation that has looked at the links between adult immigrants' well-being, their longing to return to the homeland and their memories of place in their childhood. This study investigated the link between attachment to childhood places in adult memory and the relationship with the sense of well-being for Brazilian immigrants who left their homeland after age of 18 years to live in USA, and the longing to return to their native country.

In this study, it was assumed that attachment to childhood place in adult memory influences the immigrant's feeling of well-being in USA and the longing to return to homeland. In addition two questions were asked: (1) Is there a gender difference in the attachment to childhood place and the sense of well being for Brazilian immigrants?; and (2) Is there a relationship between positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place and self-esteem? In order to explain the relation between the adult's feelings about childhood places and the sense of well-being and the longing to return to the homeland, the following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1: Immigrant's sense of well-being in USA is associated with the memory of attachment to childhood places in their homeland. It is hypothesized that an immigrant who has a negative/unpleasant (as measured by the Self-Confrontation Measurement - SCM) feelings about childhood attachment to place will have more positive/pleasant (as

measured by the Well-Being Questionnaire - WBQ) feelings of well-being in the immigrated place, and that an immigrant who has positive/pleasant feelings of childhood attachment to place will have low sense of well-being on the immigrated place.

Hypothesis 2: That positive/pleasant (as measured by SCM) feelings of attachment to childhood place are associated with the immigrant's longing to return to homeland (as measured by the Immigrant's Longing For Homeland Measure - ILFHM). Immigrants who have positive/pleasant feelings of their childhood place will have a higher desire to return to their country than those who have negative/unpleasant feelings about childhood place despite current well-being in the immigrated place.

Question 1: Is there a gender difference in the attachment to childhood place and the sense of well being in the USA? Csiksentmihalyi et al. (1981) found that there is gender difference in attaching meaning to domestic things. Csiksentmihalyi et al. reported that men, in their study, mention more significantly TV, stereo sets, sports equipment, vehicles, and trophies as important objects in their lives than females who mention photographs, sculpture, plants, plates, glass, and textiles as important objects in their lives. Csiksentmilalyi et al. stated that "... males cherish objects of action more frequently (44 percent vs. 30 percent for females; $p < .001$), whereas women prefer objects of

contemplation (45 percent vs. 29 for men; $p < .001$)" (p. 106). In a pilot study presented in fulfillment to a comprehensive exam (de Sa, 1995) it was found that Brazilian women have a more negative view about childhood place than men and felt better in the new country and have a higher sense of well-being than men. Based on these explorative findings, it is hypothesized that women that came from Brazil will have a higher sense of well-being than Brazilian men in the USA. The assumption is based in a personal conviction that women that came from a country where women have less opportunity to experience freedom, career development, self-actualization, and who culturally are more linked to domestic activities (as in the case in Brazil) are more likely than men to remember childhood place negatively and will have higher sense of well-being in the immigrated place that offers them more opportunity to self development and freedom (as is the case in the USA).

Question 2: Is there a relationship between positive/pleasant feelings or negative/unpleasant feelings about childhood place and self-esteem? It was hypothesized that positive/pleasant feelings of attachment to childhood place (as measured by SCM) and a high sense of well-being (as measured by WBQ) in the USA are associated with a high self-esteem (as measure by Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale - RSE); that positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place and low well-being are associated with a high self-esteem; that

negative/unpleasant feelings of attachment to childhood place (as measured by SCM) and high sense of well-being (as measured by WBQ) in the immigrated place are associated with a low self-esteem (as measured by RSE); that negative/unpleasant feelings of attachment to childhood place and low sense of well-being in the immigrated place are associated with a low self-esteem.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Historical Conceptions of Attachment to Place Hebrews

Western conceptions of space, time and place have roots in Greek and Hebrew thought (Russell, 1968). To the Hebrews the world was essentially time, sequential or directional. Tuan (1978) stated:

The Hebrew God was the God of History, and history began with the creation and reached towards the consummations. The Hebrews were nomads and the migration provided a linear structure of time as a journey had a starting point and was consummated at the goal, so time was sequential with a beginning and an end. (p. 10)

The Hebrew's prophets (e.g., Jeremiah, Isaiah, Malachi, etc.) associated attachment to place with the worship of Baalim, that is, the worship of 'place' gods. Robert Aron (1978) stated that for Hebrews,

there was something scandalous about building in space. The Jews vocation is to build in time; their true temples are in the human heart and consubstantial with history, never finished and indeed owing their endurance to this very incompleteness. The very fact of

construction, of an attempt to isolate a unit of the immense space created by God and thus to check the flow of time, was ... shocking and almost idolatrous. (quoted by Tuan, 1978, p. 10)

Tuan (1978) argues that after heaven and earth have been created the "mythical mind would expect God to create a holy place - a holy mountain or spring- on which a sanctuary is to be established" (p. 10). Yet in the Bible it is holiness in time, the Sabbath, that comes first. 'And God blessed the seventh day and made it holy' (Exodus 20: 8-11).

In the New Testament, Jesus opposed the idea of sacred places. He rejected the Zealots' ideology to save the homeland from the pagan Romans; he also rejected his disciples' ideas that a monument should be raised on the Mount of Transfiguration in his honor. Cox (1966) stated that Jesus "repeatedly promised to destroy the Temple of Jerusalem, the existence of which was always on the verge of respatializing God" (p. 57). Jesus introduced the idea of teleological and immaterial transcendent place as source of hope to his disciples, "in my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you" (John 14:2).

Tuan (1978) commenting about the historical Hebrew prophets stated:

Hebrew prophets were suspicious of ties to place. Deep attachment to kin and to locality were pagan ideas.

Christ... rejected place; ... Early Christians were known as 'People of the Way'. They were footloose and hence not respectable. (p. 11)

Dodds (1965) argues that respectable Romans denounced early Christian as subversive drifters who eroded ties to family and to locality. Christianity challenged the Roman establishment. Dodds says that for the Romans to "be established meant, to be in place and to have place in both the social and the geographical sense" (p. 11).

As Christianity became more organized, it initiated ties to place. For example the Benedictine Order emphasized staying where one was called and consecrating life there to God's honor and presence. The Benedictines introduced the concept of stabilities loci (Ramsey, 1965). Tuan (1978) stated that, "... in attempting to organize the social world Christianity 'baptized' ties to place and to kin as tie to parish, with the local priest as the father figure, and as tie to diocese, with the bishop as father figure" (p. 11).

Greek

The Greek world view had a different dimension - the world was essentially spatial. Places had a deep significance. The Greeks valued autochthony - the fact of being native of place (Swan, 1991). The ancient Greeks sited a shrine at Delphi to honor the earth Goddess Gaia. The sages asserted among other things that a mysterious substance called the "plenum" bubbled up from the ground there in abundance. James

A. Swan (1991) stated that at Delphi, "Greek wisdom said that the 'genus loci' or spirit of place in that place made it most suitable for honoring Gaia" (p. 1).

Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) coined the term "Geomancy" implying that there is a right action for each place, present and future (Swan, 1991). The term was new, but determining the right actions for each place was not. The art and science of environmental planning and architecture have been an integral part of human life since even before King Solomon's temple.

Swan (1991) stated that:

The geomancers assert that there is a correct action for each place, which can best harmonize human actions with the nature and the cosmos at that place. ... Geomancers, ... ultimately consult with the 'spirit' of the place to determine what is best done there. (p. 2)

D. H. Lawrence (1923) summarized the Greek's ideas about place saying that:

every continent has its own great spirit of place. Every people is polarized in some particular locality, which is home, the homeland. Different places on the face of the earth have different vital effluence, different vibration, different chemical exhalation, different polarity with different stars: call it what you like, but the spirit of place is a great reality. (pp. 8-9)

Western:

The meeting of these two world views had a great impact in Western way of thinking about place. Cox (1966) argued that the Hellenistic and Hebrew world views impacted the Latin world. It can be noticed by the existence of two Latin words, both denoting the world: the time word saeculum, and the space word mundus. Tuan (1978) argues that the popular model of the universe in the Middle Ages was a synthesis of Greek and Hebrew thought. However, in Tuan's view Greek, rather than Hebrew, beliefs provided the basic structure to the medieval cosmic model. Tuan stated: "The medieval model had a well-defined spatial frame and time was either eternal or cyclical. Space had a distinct vertical axis, and its fundamental divisions were heaven, sublunary nature and earth" (p. 10). In theological language heaven, earth and hell were tripartite divisions along the vertical axis (Tuan, 1978). According to Tuan (1978) these cardinal points played a role in the organization of terrestrial space. Tuan illustrated his argument, showing that churches were often based in this orientation. The altar stood at the eastern end of the nave. An officiating priest thus faced east, the direction of the rising sun which was a symbol for the resurrected Christ.

Tuan (1978) argues that with the modern age, the Hebrew conception of historical and progressive time reappeared again. Two concepts have been especially influential in the reappearance of Hebrew world view: the Newtonian idea that

objects move naturally in straight lines rather than in circles; and the Darwinian idea that biological species are not created separately but have evolved through aeons of time. "In the modern world view time is linear and historical rather than cyclical, and space is unbounded, horizontal rather than vertical" (Tuan, 1978, p. 11). Tuan argued that Newtonian and Darwinian ideas had a deep influence in the social organization and economic development in the modern age. Tuan stated that,

Mobility has become the ideal for modern human beings. Modern secular men and women are 'on the road', 'people of the way,' like early Christians.... Modern human beings are rootless people free of ties to place and kin. They are pilgrims searching for the suburban utopia beyond the horizon. They believe in geographical mobility for it can mean economic and social progress. Eternity and movement along the cosmic axis are forgotten myths. (p. 11)

For Tuan, understanding the historical-cultural development of human beings requires a "simultaneous grasp of the nature of mental representation and physical nature of place" (p. 11). In his view, memory of place "is memory of the origin of human action in transforming the world and making history" (p. 11).

In post-modern time, philosophers, architects, environmental psychologists, social scientists and human

geographers have investigated the meaning of a place in human evolution and development (Buttimer, 1976; Lynch, 1972, 1976; Relph, 1976; Tuan 1973, 1977, 1978). In summary, these theoretical views of place show that there is a transformation from a religious view of attachment to place to an economic, politic, and sociological one. Although, it is recognized that place is an important concept on human beings' personal and collective history, a consensus theory of meaning of a place still is not clear in the literature, as can be seen in the next section.

2.2 The Meaning of Place

Parkes and Thrift (1980) analyzed different theories about place and their "meaning" to individuals. They came to the conclusion that this issue still confuses because different theories "always stressed [the meaning] but because definition is often lacking, it is not always clear what exactly it is that is supposed to have 'meaning'" (p. 23). Place becomes a general concept that not only is difficult to study but also to define. Relph (1976) suggested that "the confusion about the meaning of the notion of place results because it is not just a formal concept awaiting precise definition, but is also a naive and variable expression of geographical experiences" (p. 4). Heidegger (1958) argued that "'place' places man in such a way that it reveals the external bonds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality" (p. 19).

Heidegger's definition has motivated a long debate about the real meaning of place. Relph (1976) commenting about Heidegger's statement says: "Fine sentiments, but what is it that does this placing? Place apparently! But place is a profound and complex aspect of man's experience of the world" (p. 1). Parkes and Thrift (1980) criticized Relph's statement, saying that:

such a comment is not deeply helpful, however eloquent it may be, because it might readily be rephrased in the more obviously tautological form: place is a profound and complex aspect of man's experience of PLACE. (p. 24)

Blumer (1969) replaced the word world with the word place, in Relph's statement, and defined world as "the setting, the surroundings, and the texture of things" (p. 11). Blumer concluded that the meaning of place is intrinsic to the empirical place as it is manifested to the observer.

May (1970) has developed a parallel but independent view about place and its meanings. He considered the meaning of a place as a "perceptual unity" that is a distinctive characteristic of that place, and its importance is related to this unity. Parkes and Thrift (1980) say that May's argument is not totally valid in investigating the meaning of place because:

unity is considered to be beyond the arrangement of the physical items that people move among in their daily social behavior (conduct); trading off access for

comfort, security, commitment, intention, and urgency. Perhaps the sense of simply 'feeling at home' may be the closest one can get to describing a positive attraction to a place, place as a familiar mental and social environment rather than the absolute or relative location of physical items. (p. 24)

Lynch (1976) argued that those interested in investigating the meaning of place need to consider that the meaning lies in the context of how "setting symbolizes fundamental feelings" (pp. 172-173). Lynch also recognized that data are hard to acquire and personal introspection, memories, and references to place in novels and memoirs can perhaps be a useful source to understand the meaning of place (see also Salter & Lloyd, 1976; Seamon, 1978; Thrift, 1978).

Walter (1988) went beyond Lynch's argument that setting symbolizes fundamental feelings. He argued that the scientific understanding of meaning of place needs to be considered within the large range of human experience. There are two aspects of real sense of a place that need to be considered. "On one hand, people feel it; on the other hand, they grasp its meaning" (p. 2). Walter argued that today, the experience of place is often out of balance. He states that,

Preoccupations with the logic of space tends to suppress the feeling of place. There is a tendency in modern Western thinking to separate feelings, symbolic meanings, moral sentiments, and intuitions of a place

from the intellectual, rational features. The expressive dimensions gets lost in systems of design and management. Places, therefore, tend to lose an old kind of meaning: expressive intelligibility. (p. 2).

Walter believes that the problem in understanding the meaning of place is based in the dichotomy between the scientific and ordinary daily life. He stated:

In ordinary life, some people still do grasp a place as a whole through a balanced experience of intellect, common sense, feeling, and imagination. Our technical languages, however, do not express the unity and coherence of this holistic experience. (p. 2)

Massey (1991) shows that there is a new phase in the post-modern times literature that emphasizes the importance of place as subject of study. Massey, in A global sense of place article, argued that this new phase is the reemergence of what Karl Marx once called "the annihilation of space by time" (p. 24). In Massey's review, she shows that one of the foci of this literature "is an increasing uncertainty about what we mean by 'place' and how we relate to them" (p. 24). And she asks, "how, in the face of all this movement and intermixing, can we retain any sense of a local place and its particularity?" (p. 24). Massey argues that place as object of investigation has gained a new momentum, reached a new stage. It is a phenomenon which has been called "time-space compression" (p. 24).

However at same time there is a mobility of human beings and their culture as never before. She states that,

in an era when, it is argued, 'local communities' seem to be increasingly broken up, when you can go abroad and find the same shops, the music as at home, or eat your favorite foreign-holiday food at restaurant down the road - and when everyone has a different experience of all this - how then do we think about 'locality?' (p. 24)

For Massey, the globality of place led some investigators to see the seeking after a sense of place as an necessarily reactionary action. The global place leads to a new view of human beings, where people not only have multiple identities, but also at the same times people have relationships with multiple places. Massey sees the meaning of place more as a politic object than a "locali" that human beings feel attached to.

Kunze (1987) in his book "Thought and Places", presented the idea that there is one world and not many, and that our senses meet the world-in-itself as it appears for them. Kunze developed the idea that in order to understand place it is necessary to understand the communality of place. For Kunze, this common place can be seen in three different perspectives: (a) common place as motion; (b) common place as expression; and (c) common place as memory.

Common place as motion. Kunze shows that common place is first the scene of the symbolic mental and actual physical

movement that constitutes our subjective relationships to the world (p. 55). He says that "image of movement serves to ground the idea in experience without giving that experience a prior validity as 'objective'" (p. 55). He sees the common place as a movement, as a peripheral movement (movement around) and not sagittal movement (movement towards). He argues that the view of common place as motion emphasizes the social and intersubjective aspect of perception and perception's goal of a common place. The place's bodily, metaphoric nature and thoughts' ideal relation to mind - point to a common and polymorphous reality. He states that:

place, as immanence, and thought, as transcendence, constitute the common place where mind may be known through a language of form. Place as motion is not a matter of characterizations or values. Rather, it is the point of a problematic crossing between two seemingly incommensurable worlds, the mental and physical worlds. (p. 56)

Common place as expression. For Kunze, the world's expressive function is its semantic value: its status as a sign. The expressive function of a place becomes primary. Kunze argues that:

perception is not a matter of simple sensations to which meaning is later added. In perception, this expressive function has composite material and ideal status that

makes it a counterpart or even an instance of the common place of memory and subjective experience. (p. 59)

In this case perception is "innocent of the interests of cognition, abstraction, and conceptualization" as Kunze stated (p. 59). He defends the idea that seeing common place as expression, is perhaps the most concrete aspect of the common place, because it is based in the relation between immanence and transcendence in perceptions. He explains that:

when we inferentially 'add' the hidden side of things to their immanent faces, our transcendence of the sensually limited view is accomplished by letting these faces express and thus paradoxically contain what is technically absent. (p. 58)

Kunze says that it "is impossible to address the nature of common places in terms of values, attitudes, or rather empirical measures that depend upon ideas already formed" (p. 59). The study of common places relies instead on a view of "inter-subjectivity, memory, and perception as original moments of the mind" (p. 59). From this point of view, Kunze temporalizes the idea of common place taking into account the here-and now of immanence (the place) and the idealized past of transcendence (thoughts). For Kunze the immanence and transcendence occur simultaneously. He states that:

the invisible is not added on later, as a mean of structuring immanent sensations, but is present from the start. We do not begin with a stage-prop, or patches, or

tones, or any of the other paraphernalia of sensationalistic psychology, but with a world whose fullness is presumed. (p. 61)

Kunze argues that this is not to "say that the world does not have its face, which is presented to us as its viewer, or that we do not really have a unique view by virtue of our bodies and their organs and their position in space" (p. 61). Seeing common place as an expression, the most important reason lies:

in the nature of the temporality of common place, which is itself composite, a connection of movement with stillness, the present with the past, time with the destruction of time. The architecture of the common place is its developmental character. (p. 62)

Common place as memory. Kunze argues that memories of individuals seem to involve primarily a transcendence of time: past is made present through recollection. But, he states that "memory considered as a common possession of a group depends on the collective experience of real or imagined places" (p. 57). Kunze argues that "when we realize the great extent to which even private recollections are in truth tied to our relation to others, this theme gains an importance equal to time" (p. 57).

Kunze argues that:

as one can see, in monuments, literature, and public gestures of all kinds, the degree to which any

particular society selectively identifies with history, by far the richest and most powerful source of the collective memory is the physical landscape where the public eye finds ubiquitous reminders of the continuity of its being. (p. 57)

Place is seen as the fabric of memory. This fabric of memory is noticeable only when it torn, argued Kunze. When a familiar place such as a house is demolished or when a neighborhoods decays; or a small parts of the public scene (e.g., trees or fountains) disappears suddenly, the importance of such things as part of a shared memory-system is felt. Kunze asks: "What are such memories memories of?" (p. 58). He answered the question saying that is impossible to answer this question in terms of individual memory. "The loss of such memory is not a lapse of the single mind but a disappearance of the basis of social relations" (p. 58).

One point not considered in Kunze's argument, is human mobility. What happens when a person is dislocated from these collective memories? How is the human psyche effected when an individual migrates from one place to another? How does adaptation to the new collective memories happen?

When Kunze's notion of meaning of place is considered inside of a large frame - the common place - shows that place and displacement are crucial features in understanding the social and psychological change that place cause in the human psyche. His arguments create the feeling that there is one

world and not many, and that our senses meet the world-in-itself as it appears them, becomes a rhetorical element creating the possibility of multiple views of the same reality. His view creates the multiple possibilities in which the meaning of a place can be interpreted or investigated. The meaning of place goes from the individual to the collective and vice and versa.

Kunze presents "place" not as simple "landscape" but as a complex interaction of language, history and environment. The meaning of place, therefore, the "place" of the "subject", throws light upon subjectivity itself. The meaning of place is a process of a continual dialectic between subject and object. Place becomes a palimpsest, a kind of parchment on which successive generations have inscribed and reinscribed the process of history. V. S. Naipaul (1962) signals this in his book The Middle Passage, when he sees the history of the Caribbean signified in the land: "There is slavery in the vegetation. In the sugarcane, brought by Columbus on that second voyage when, to Queen Isabella's fury, he proposed the enslavement of the Amerindians" (pp. 61-62). The conflict of colonizer and colonized which Naipaul sees here is really a simplification of the complex way in which history and memory are embedded in place. The meaning of place in this view is not in the place that was simply there but a place which is in a continual process of being created, formed and written.

Halbwachs (1980) also has considered place as a collective memory. He emphasizes that the meaning of place is related to the relationship between the individual and the cultural context (i.e., collectivity). He argues that,

memory and judgements of agents are always subject to specific social conditions which could be said to provide the framework in the context of which agents think and remember: within collective notions. Such notions vary, however, from society to society, from class to class and from group to group, and are characteristic for a particular society, class or group. (p. 7)

For example, Mircea Eliade (1959) reported that according to the traditions of the Achilpa tribe, the divine being Numbakula fashioned a sacred pole from the trunk of a gum tree, and after anointing it with blood, climbed it and disappeared into the sky. This pole represents the cosmic axis, for it is around the sacred pole that territory becomes habitable. During their wanderings the Achilpa always carry the pole with them. This allows them, while being continually on the move, to be always in "their world" and, at the same time, in communication with sky into which Numbakula vanished.

In Halbwachs' view, individuals orient themselves in their actions towards the collective memory, and are therefore determined by it. He considered the "collective memory" in terms of its temporal and spatial dimensions and differentiations. For Halbwachs, the collective memory is the

"intersubjectively available knowledge of events and objects within the framework of a particular group" (p. 7). Halbwachs stated that: "Each (individual) memory is a 'view point' on the collective memory, that this view point changes as my position changes, that this position itself changes as my relationships to other milieus change" (p. 48).

Halbwachs (1980) argues that the material world, with the symbolic memories it embodies, is the sphere in which the individual becomes an agent, and from personal position in the social and physical worlds, enters relations. He sees the material milieu of a particular geographical unit (e.g., a public monument) in which the collective memory is preserved as "a part of society ... which recalls a way of life common to many men" (p. 129). Even though the elements of the material milieu do not possess the faculties of agents "we nevertheless understand them, because they have a meaning easily interpreted" (p. 129), because those elements of the material milieu have been formed by a group of whom we are a part. He stated, "place and group have each received the imprint of the other" (p. 130).

In Halbwach's view, when the social world changes, the symbolic meaning of its material milieu also changes. And as the material milieu changes so does the group (e.g., the changing in the Rain Forest, Brazil, and the changing of the native people living in that milieu). Halbwach (1980) puts forward the theory "that mental equilibrium was, first and

foremost, due to the fact that the physical objects of our daily contact change a little or not at all, providing us with an image of permanence and stability" (p. 128). Werlen (1993) argues in the same line of Halbuachs' thinking, and he states that:

in this reciprocal relationship, collective memories are transferred to the physical surroundings of the action. The continuum of the physical and social worlds is important here in that it determines the uniqueness of every constellation of material artifacts. (pp. 176-177)

Werlen (1993) summarized Halbwachs's idea stating that:

[Halbwachs] sees the symbolic contents of the material substratum of a society and its spatial immobility as first, providing continuity in the face of social change. Second, ... they pass on collective memory from one generation to another. (p. 177)

Halbwachs' ideas suggested that there is an interplay between the metamorphosis of a place and the ontological change in the individual intra-psychological experience. Halbwachs and Kunze's views of a collective memory create the theoretical possibility of seeing place as symbol that an individual or group lives, transforms, and is transformed by.

2.3 Place as Symbolic Phenomenon

Simmel and Treinen (1974) provide an important framework to understand the symbolic content of places and place-names, and to its specific significance for action. Although, their

arguments are parallel to above ideas discussed, the importance of their work in investigating what significance this symbolic investment (collective memory) has, and does it bear on the significance of spatial differentiation in the social world for concrete courses of action.

Simmel and Treinen (1974) argued that:

symbolic relatedness to a place is not a special phenomenon and does not concern the way man comes to terms with his physical environment. It is rather the specific form of a more general problem: the symbolization of human relationships. (p. 237)

Agents associate their personal experiences with physical locality and the objects and artifacts located there. Simmel and Treinen (1974) came to the conclusion that a symbolic relationship with a place is formed "when the place is the linking element in the social actions of the members of a local social structure" (p. 238), and that relationship to place is manifested "after a detour via identification with a place-name, which represents the symbol for the category [place]" (p. 238). For example, accordingly to Simmel and Treinen's argument, the empirical investigation of a personal relationship with a place needs to record various meanings of place-names, and the reconstruction of the process which led to this particular form of symbolization. Werlen (1993) reviewing Simmel and Treinen's ideas, stated that:

if social actions are frequently repeated in the same physical situation or in the same situation context, the elements of either become so closely associated with the action that one of them becomes the symbol of the action. This is often the (place) name of the "physical-material aspect of the action situation. (p. 178)

The specific form of the meaning of the symbol depends on the intensity and frequency of action (e.g., church). Simmel and Treinen (1974) argued that "if the nature of the relations between the participants changes, it is possible that the symbols concerned remain but with a changed meaning" (p. 239). There is the possibility that the specific meaning, ideas and emotions that a particular symbol has for a person also change with time. Werlen (1993) says that the meaning of place "depends on how they [people] interact in the situation which the symbol represents" (p. 178). For Simmel and Treinen, the form of symbol is an element in the "frame of reference for action orientation" (p. 239). The symbol represents the characteristics of the social relations between the person and the other participants in the same action situation. Werlen (1993) stated that the meaning of the symbol "becomes the expression of the way in which an agent's identity is closely linked to situation" (p. 178). The person uses the symbol and its meaning for orientation, for those acts which relate to the symbolically represented situation. The argument defended

by Simmel and Treinen, and also by Werlen, that meaning of place is related to the symbolism that it represents. These arguments creates the possibility that this symbol has a deeper meaning than its physical representation (e.g., the Vatican means something for the Catholic church in general but it could have a completely different meaning for Protestants). This meaning of place could be identified as the unconscious meaning in the collective memory (Benjamin, 1978).

In summary, place is meaningful because it is in place where life is constructed. The self is a project, something to be built. To understand the past is to condense it into it's spatial forms, its premonitory structure (e.g., Gothic architecture in the Middle Age). The chronological movement is grasped and analyzed in spatial image. The history of a life is in a setting, it is a process which converts time into space. Every place has a secret language, and this language is deeper that it appears because, everyplace has an unconscious archetype of the past manifested in the present. The meaning of place is not only in the physical symbolism but also in the possibility that in "place" the past is still present, because place is space frozen in time. The reminiscences of self are reminiscences of a place, and how the person positions himself/herself in it, and navigates around it. This subassumes that there is a people-place bonding as the self unfolds and mature.

2.4 Attachment to Place

There is a long cultural tradition regarding human beings' special affinity or bond in developing relationships. As Chawla (1992) states:

the term attachment evokes a long history of theory and research that has measured the degree to which young children seek to keep a primary caretaker in the sight and hearing, showing distress at separation and joy at reunion not merely for the sake of the satisfaction of physical needs but for the value of the caregiver presence.... (p. 63)

Much of research that has focused on attachment has been inspired by the theory of object relations. The object relations theorists have usually assumed that a child's feelings for places and things develop as an extension of his or her relation with the mother. As Chawla (1992) points out, this creates confusion concerning whether if place attachment should be considered merely the secondary effect of social attachments, or whether attachment to place has an independent existence alone and beyond that generated by social relationships. (p. 63)

However, before these areas be explored, it is necessary to grapple with the difficult issue of defining attachment to place.

2.4.1 Defining Attachment to Place

Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) taking into account perception, attitude, value, and individual world view related to place, developed the idea of Topophilia. He defines Topophilia as "the affective bond between people and place or setting" (p. 4). Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff (1983) developed a parallel idea of topophilia which they called "place identity". Rowles (1980) used the word "insideness" to describe human affection to place. Hufford (1992) called this affection to place as the "genres of place"; Chawla (1992) called the same concept "sense of place or rootness"; Hummon (1992) sees attachment to place as "environmental embeddedness", and "community sentiment and identity". As can be noted from the above researchers' view, different disciplines have different concepts and labels in order to explain the human affection to place. This does not minimize the importance of it as a construct that has deep implications for explaining how the person lives, acts, and is shaped by places where he or she has lived. However, it needs to be recognized that the multiplicity of words that describe attachment to place create tremendous difficulties in defining the essence of what is "attachment to place."

Attachment to place has multiple views and definitions in the literature. In Table 1, pages 37 to 39, there is a summary of these definitions. The integration of these different

points of views and approaches seem to be the great challenge for those that study attachment to place.

Table 1 - Definitions of Attachment to Place

Author	Definition
Altman and Low (1992)	attachment emphasizes affect; the word place refers to the environment settings to which people are emotionally and cultural attached. The term place attachment implies that the primary target of affective bonding of people is to environment settings themselves. (p. 6)
Riley (1992)	(1) an affective relationship between people and landscape that goes beyond cognition, preference, or judgment. (p. 13) (2) attachment, a feeling for the congruence of cultural and landscape. (p. 17)
Low (1992)	(1) Cultural definition: Place attachment is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that

(Continued next page)

Table 1 (Continued)

provides the basis for the individual's and group's understanding of and relation to the environment. (p. 165)

(2) Psychological definition:

attachment refers to the cognitive and emotionally linkage of an individual to a particular setting or environment.

(P. 165)

Belk
(1992)

to be attached to certain of our surroundings is to make then a part of our extended self.... Possessions involve the extended self only when the basis for attachment is emotional rather than simply functional. (p. 38)

Rubinstein
and Parmelee
(1992)

Attachment to place is a set of feelings about a geographical location that emotionally binds a person to that place as a function of its role as a setting for experience. (p. 139)

Ahrentzen
(1992)

Place attachment is experienced as a central and centering bond between an individual and a particular setting, but the emotional interpretation or meaning

(Continued next page)

Table 1 (Continued)

	of that bond can be positive or negative. (p. 115)
Brown and Perkins (1992)	Place attachment involves positively experienced bonds, sometimes occurring without awareness, that are developed over time from the behavioral, affective, and cognitive ties between individuals and/or groups and their psychophysical environment. (p. 284)
Hummon 1992)	Community attachment, understood as emotional ties to the local area, is best conceptualized as one facet of community sentiment. (p. 260)
Chawla (1992)	Children are attached to a place when they show happiness at being in it and regret or distress at leaving it, and when they value it not only for the satisfaction of physical needs but for its own intrinsic qualities. (p. 64)

Low (1992) tried to solve the problem when she employed a general definition of attachment to place in her investigation. She proposed six categories of symbolic linkages between people and land to create a structure that could be an object of scientific investigation. She based her definition on findings reported in the literature of cultural aspects of the built environment and spatial form (Lawrence & Low, 1990), comparative studies of housing, culture, and design (Low & Chambers, 1989), fieldwork experience in Third World housing and community development (Low, 1988), and on rural architecture (Low & Ryan, 1985). She identified different processes that create linkages as well as their psychological consequences, although she recognized that these consequences are likely to be different from the process that link the person to places. The proposed typology of place attachment by Low includes: (1) genealogical linkage to the land through history or family lineage; (2) linkage through loss of land or destruction of community; (3) economic linkage to land through ownership, inheritance, and politics; (4) cosmological linkage through religious, spiritual, or mythological relationship; (5) linkage through both religious and secular pilgrimage and celebratory, cultural events; and (6) narrative linkage through storytelling and place naming.

Low's analysis implies that the emotions are associated with each of these types of linkages as well as their other psychological consequences. For example, genealogical place

attachment, the historic link of people with place through kinship and time differs from place attachment formed through pilgrimages; the differences in the nature and dynamics of the bonds are apparent despite the fact that both bonds are defined as intense and lingering in memory. Low's analysis is very useful in illustrating the benefits of an articulation of the distinction that characterize psychological bonds and ties with place.

If the definition of place attachment is that of an affective bond to the place, the researcher needs to consider whether to include both the positive and negative emotional relationship with the place. The inclusion of the person's whole experience with a particular place - negative or positive - seems to be a crucial point in analyzing human attachment to place. For example, Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) carried out extensive interviews with 351 residents of Chicago on "the meaning of things," the residents' own things in their home. The interviewer revealed one recurring theme: Meaningful objects were tied to emotional feelings.

A problem that seems not be considered in defining attachment to place is that affective appraisal about a place may lack stability because it relies on memory. Most theories of human memory propose that information about the place where an event occurs is represented in the memory of that event and the place is critical in subsequent retrieval of that event

(e.g., Ackerman, 1987; Anderson & Bower, 1972; Estes, 1973). Evidence for this view has been drawn from studies in which adults exhibit poorer retention when trained and tested in different places than when trained and tested in the same place. Godden and Baddeley (1975), for example, reported that divers who learned a list of words underwater exhibited better recall when tested underwater than when on dry land, and vice and versa. The importance of contextual cues for memory retrieval in both human and nonhuman adults led Campbell and Spear (1972) to propose that naturally occurring changes in context, either real or perceived, might be a major contributor to the inability of individuals to remember events that occurred during early life - a phenomenon known as "infantile amnesia."

This raises several questions in remembering childhood attachment to place. For example, what exactly do we remember? What was the mood in that place? Is the memory a revocation of a feeling that occurred in the place? Why would our memory select this specific place to be recalled? Is the memory of childhood attachment to place an important aspect in adulthood? In order to investigate the above questions, it is necessary to understand how human beings become attached to place.

2.4.2 Measures and Findings on Attachment to Place

A variety of measures have been used to investigate attachment to place. Janowitz and Kasarda (1974) included

three elements as measures of community attachment or local community sentiment: feeling of belonging, interest in the home area, and sentiment about leaving. Riger and Lavrakas (1981) and Taylor et al. (1985) used length of residence as a measure of attachment to place.

Gerson, Stueve, and Fischer (1977), attempted to answer two questions in investigating attachment to place: "What does it mean to be 'attached' to one's place of residence? What kinds of people are most likely to be attached and what kinds of places are most conducive to attachment?" (p. 139). They hypothesized that:

(1) attachment to place is not a unitary dimension but, instead, social involvement in and subjective feelings toward a place can take several forms; and (2) people choose to become attached to places in different ways, depending on their personal needs, opportunities, and resources, and on the characteristics of the homes and places in which they live. (p. 139)

The authors constructed and used seven measures of neighborhood attachment. Although the authors had the goal of seeing how people become attached to place, they measured only attachment to neighborhood. They had seven measures:

1) Institutional Ties - the extent to which the respondent's family was formally involved in the neighborhood through church, school, or work.

2) Sociable Neighboring - degree to which members of the respondent's family talked, dined, and spent leisure time with neighbors.

3) Organizational Involvement - the membership and activity in a neighborhood organization.

4) Kin in Neighborhood - whether various relatives lived in the neighborhood.

5) Friends in Neighborhood - The presence of at least some of the respondent's friends in the neighborhood.

6) Happy with neighborhood - how happy the respondent was with the neighborhood.

7) Unhappy to leave - how unhappy the respondent would be if he or she had to move.

They cross-tabulated these measures, each against the others, to see whether people were attached in one way were likely to be attached in other ways as well.

The results showed that attachment to place was not unitary but multidimensional. They found that people who reported being happy with their neighborhoods were largely the same ones who said they would be unhappy to leave ($y = .67$). There was also a strong tendency for respondents who neighbored a good deal to be active in local organizations ($y = .50$), and for those attached in either of these ways to report some friends in the neighborhood ($y = .39$). The respondents who had kin nearby tended to also have friends nearby ($y = .23$). People with relatives in neighborhood were

hardly different in other kinds of attachment from those without kin, while those with friends were more attached in other ways than were those without local friends. As result the authors identified four forms of attachment to place, one involving feelings and the others, social ties. They classified these four forms as: (1) institutional ties; (2) social activities; (3) local intimacies; and (4) affective attachment.

The Gerson et al.'s (1977) study showed the importance of social ties in study place. They defined social ties as an "individual commitment to their neighborhoods and neighbors" (p. 139). This commitment takes the form of both "social involvement and subjective feelings," feelings that in turn are measured by "the satisfaction with the neighborhood and the desire to stay or to leave" (p. 142). The problem with Gerson et al. study, is that it does not report where the sample came from, how many subjects participated in their study, or information about social economic class, gender, or age, what makes the replication, or evaluation and generalization of their findings almost impossible.

Fried (1963) observed the disruptive psychological experiences of residents who were forced to move from the West End in Boston. He drew on psychodynamic theory in suggesting a parallel between the grief response to the loss of significant people and the loss of place. He suggested that forced dislocation represents a disruption in the sense of

continuity; it brings about a fragmentation of two cognitive components of identity, that is spatial and group identity, both of which have associated, strong affective qualities. A follow up study investigating the continuity of adaptation of this group would have been helpful in evaluating his arguments.

Others researchers have considered satisfaction with place as a key concept of attachment to place. Satisfaction is measured as an index of personal attachment to place (Brown & Werner, 1985; Fried, 1982; Shumaker & Taylor, 1983; Stinner et al., 1990). Another set of researchers presented satisfaction with place as distinct but related to attachment to place (Austin & Baba, 1990; Guest & Lee, 1983; Ringel & Finkelstein, 1991). Austin and Baba (1990) go further than considering just satisfaction with the place as the main factor to be investigated. They suggested that in measuring attachment to place one needs not only to consider interest in the neighborhood and feelings about moving, but also there is a need to consider as independent variables the individual's social participation and satisfaction with place as in investigating attachment to place.

In the 1980s some scholars started to doubt that there was any evidence of place attachment and they questioned the worth of adult memory as a source of information. For example Stokols and Shumaker (1981) questioned the proposition that to lose or move from place to place has any psychological

deleterious effects. Stokols et al. (1983) using a contextual analysis of mobility and health, concluded that mobility did not necessarily result in negative health consequences; rather, low mobility associated with low choice of residence or low congruity with expectations may results in adverse experiences. However, there is no data reported in literature, that supports the hypothesis that low mobility is pathological.

Recently, there was a shift in the literature away from focusing on behavioral dimensions to the affective process implicated in people-place bonds. Proshansky et al., (1983) departed from the idea that human beings are attached to place because of a state of "being-in-the world", and argued that these bonds with place "need to be considered as an enduring and changeable process related to the construction and maintenance of the identity in a changing social and physical environment" (p. 58).

Giuliani (1991) argues that empirical research on attachment to place needs to shift the emphasis from a static to a dynamic model of people-place bonds, one that incorporates alterations in these bonds over the life course. She made the suggestion that research on human attachment to place should focus on a set of meanings in which the representation of the self, of the object of attachment, and of the relationship between the two should be analyzed in

order to capture both the changes in the attachment patterns over the life course of an individual or group.

Toyama (1988), a Swedish researcher, has been studying place attachment over life-course. Toyama (1988) studied elderly people that have lived almost all their lives in one place and then move from the family home due to failing health. In this study she interviewed 14 couples and single adults just before a move into housing for the elderly, just after the move, and approximately one year later. Toyama reported that their reaction to the move varied from quite positive to quite negative. Toyama's study indicated that if a person moved only a short geographic distance, he or she was more able to cope with the change. For example, when one elderly man moved only 150 meters from his old home to a new elderly house project that he had seen being constructed while on his daily walk, the move was positive. Also those elderly people that had a more active role in both the decision to move and the actual moving process were much more likely to adjust well. Also, it was found that if the people were able to re-create the interior of their old home in the new apartment, and to find a parallel in the layout of rooms, they were more likely to adjust positively.

A subgroup had a hard time adjusting in their new home. They become unhappy, missing such things as a daily walk in the forest, their home and neighborhood, fishing, gardens, casual meetings. Toyama found that this group became more

passive, more socially isolated, smoked more heavily, and increased their risk of heart attack. Toyama's study shows that her subjects have a powerful emotional connection to the place that they have lived most of their lives and that separation is painful and difficult, especially for those who were moved far away from their home. Toyama's findings demonstrated, that, at least for her population in investigation, place is important in fostering a feeling of well being in elderly.

Lynch (1977), at another hand, working with young adolescents around the world, also found that their attachment to their community, measured through pride in identification and a desire to continue to live there after growing up, corresponded to the degree to which adults accept them as vital functioning members in that community. Lynch concluded that at every age, there is also a need for undefined space where young people can formulate their own worlds: for free space where preschoolers can manipulate the environment and play "let's pretend" in preparation for middle childhood demands. For Lynch (1981), emotional as well as physical claims to a place depend upon a set of spatial rights: The right of presence, of being in a place; of use and action; of appropriation; of modification; and of disposition. Lynch has noted, also, that young people's enjoyment of these rights extends only as far as adults' toleration, or ignorance, of their activities. In conventional settings, these rights are

conveyed through adult acceptance. In creativity settings, they are conferred by the place's malleability and remoteness from adults.

There is much diversity concerning the proper number of dimensions that should be included and measured in analyzing attachment to place. Drawing from the preceding discussion, attachment to place includes: (a) simple affection for a place associated with family love and security; (b) place remembered as an unforgettable living presence in itself, exciting all five senses and inspiring exuberance, calm, or awe; (c) the experience both of a sense of discontinuity, an awareness of his or her own unique separateness and identity, and also a continuity, a renewal of relationship with nature as process; (d) attachment can bring pain as well as pleasure; and (e) in adolescence, idealization sometimes emerged as another reaction to a sense of entrapment. As part of a quest for identity, some adolescents invested an existing or imagined place with elaborate national, religious, or racial values, and mentally inhabited this idealized place as an alternative to inadequate actual circumstances (Chawla, 1992).

In summary, despite of parallels between human and environmental objects of attachment, remembered places cannot simply be explained as substitutes for human security, for they are the world that the child moves out into as it moves away from parents. At one and the same time, they satisfy the drive for outward exploration and mastery and the need for a

secure base. The "fund of calm" that can be mobilized in an emergency, it should be noted, is as much the child's achievement as the place's gift, for the discovery and creation of personal places testify to growing independence. This raises questions such as: (1) What constitutes attachment to place in childhood?; (2) What memories do adults have of place?; and (3) How does place become important component in human memory?

2.5 Attachment to Place in Childhood

Much of the research on attachment construct has been inspired by the psychoanalytic theory of object relations. As stated above, the object relation theorists have usually assumed that a child's feeling for places and things develop as an extension of it's relations with it's mother (Chawla, 1992). The subject of attachment to childhood place has never been directly defined or investigated in object relation theory. It has been indirectly discussed under the terms "affiliation" (Moore, 1986), "bonding" (Pearce, 1977), "preference", "rootedness," and "sense of place" (Olwing, 1982).

Traditionally, in psychoanalytic theory the subject of attachment comes under the heading of object relations, as Chawla (1992) stated, "which consist of the developing child's external and internal, imagined relations with significant people and things" (p. 69). Freud (1953) developed the idea that satisfaction "consists in the release of drive tensions,

and objects become significant because they make satisfaction possible" (Chawla, 1992, p. 69). Chawla (1992) summarized Freud's ideas saying that, "as the infant or child associates a set of conditions with repeated experiences of satisfaction, an image of the satisfying object coalesces and the drive becomes invested, or cathected, in it" (p.69).

The result is that the child becomes attached to the object. Freud believed that different parts of the body become "erotogenic as sexual libido moves through a biologically fixed sequence of phases. therefore the character of a satisfying object changes with each libidinal phase" (p. 69). For Freud, "the primary objects that satisfy the sexual drive are human, and nonhuman objects are of secondary importance through association" (Chawla, 1992, p. 69). For example, a house, subconsciously represents the body and in particular woman's body or woods and gardens represent a female sexual organs. Freud (1955) shows that these associations begin very early. Chawla states: "By this code of symbols, relations with places and things mask repressed human interests" (p, 69). It has been argued that despite Freud's emphasis on human relations, he left the term "object" open to signify anything which is a drive target (Chawla, 1992; Schachtel, 1959).

Chawla (1992) has presented a comprehensive review of Schachtel's (1959) ideas in contrast to Freud's conception of pleasure as the cessation of tension.

Chawla's argues that Schachtel presents logical arguments in which:

young of all higher species show an eager appetite for sensory exploration and discovery, which serves not only survival but intrinsic satisfaction. Whereas Freud saw in the infant nursing at the breast a longing for quiescence, Schachtel saw a different message: that just as the newborn turns toward its mother for care, so the child and adult can return actively toward the external world. (p. 70)

Another important point presented by Chawla was that in Freud's belief system general "reality frustrates the desire for pleasure" (p. 70). In contrast, Schachtel argued that the "perception of reality itself can be pleasurable" (p. 70); and this "pleasure in the discovery of reality is the primary motive of play, learning and love for the world" (p. 70).

Another point that Chawla emphasized in her review is that in order to understand children's bond with place, it is important to consider Schachtel's claims about two perceptual modes and types of personal connection to the world: autocentric and allocentric world view. Autocentric, or "self-centered perception, is where sensations and emotions of general pleasure or discomfort fuse. In this case things are known for their use and value for the individual" (p. 70. Chawla (1992) argued that this fusion in "a serviceable world is similar to Freud's conception of pleasure as satisfied

quiescence" (p. 70). The difference comes when Schachtel offered an alternative in the form of allocentric, or other-centered perception, "which opens itself to an object, trying to discover the characteristics that define its general form and its unique identity, which brings an intellectual pleasure" (p. 70).

Chawla argues that for Schachtel healthy development proceeds from predominantly autocentric to increasingly allocentric modes of perception. In Schachtel's view the infant begins "by looking, touching, and testing the sake of pleasurable sensations, but the growing child take an increasing interest in understanding objects' varied characteristics" (p. 70). Schachtel (1959) said the "embeddedness principle yields to the transcendental principle of openness toward the world and of self-realization which takes place in encounter with the world" (p. 157). In this view, maturity preserves an openness and delight in the properties of things. Chawla concluded, according to Schachtel,

the necessary background to openness to the world is the satisfaction of physical needs and a mother's secure love. If a mother's love is dependable, a child can tolerate and even welcome uncertainty and newness in the environment. Otherwise, an unchanging environment becomes a critical substitute for secure mothering. (p. 70)

In Chawla's summary Schachtel's ideas of two polar but complementary forms in investigating attachment to place suggested that:

A place can be valued precisely because it is so familiar that the person does not need to think about it, it is because the sensations have fused into a general sense of comfort and utility. And the person can value the excitement of discovery that place affords. (Chawla, p. 71).

H. F. Searles (1959) was one of the first psychoanalysts who investigated human development taking in consideration person-environment (nonhuman objects) relationships. Chawla (1992) stated that, "whereas object relation theorists have emphasized an infant's separation from its mother, Searles maintained that separation and individuation are a two fold process" (p. 71). Searles stated:

The human being is engaged, throughout his life span, in an unceasing struggle to differentiate himself increasingly fully, not only from his human, but also from his nonhuman environment, while developing, in proportion as he succeeds in these differentiations, an increasingly meaningful relatedness with the latter environment as well as with his fellow human beings. (p. 30)

Chawla (1992) states, that "whereas Schachtel argues in terms of the competing attractions of autocentric or

allocentric experience, Searles developed his ideas talking in terms of immersion in the environment. It is the relatedness to an accurately differentiated environment" (p. 71). Chawla (1992) presented a comprehensive summary of Searles's ideas. In her view, the main points in Searles's theory are that:

he saw the movement from immaturity to maturity a movement from a sense of oneness with the world to an increasingly meaningful relatedness. He saw a process fraught with anxieties and risks - with a critical difference. Searles argued that the infant separates from his or her mother at the moment it leaves the womb, and the rest of its life is spent in accommodating this reality. (p. 71)

Searles presented arguments, as Chawla stated, showing that the source of "our anxieties about the nonhuman environment is that we can never cut the umbilical cord of our dependence on its air, water, food, and other materials, and at death our bodies dissolve back on it" (p. 71). Searles showed that there is an omission in psychoanalytic theory in considering the person-environment relations. Chawla states,

[Searles] noted that just as an infant's dependence on its mother is so absolute that it has great difficulty recognizing her independent existence in any form other than a taken-for - granted object, so, as individuals and a society, we have relegated the physical world to

the status of nothing but an object. Healthy place relationships, he argued, begin with our acknowledging all the ways in which we are inescapably attached to this primary bond. (p. 71)

Searles believed that mature individuation does not exclude occasional "feelings of intense relatedness, and even oneness, with the totality of one's environment" (p. 128). He stated that,

the more our relatedness to it is freed from perceptual distortions in the form of projection, transference, and so on- the more truly meaningful, the more solidly emotionally satisfying, is our experience with this environment. (p. 115)

This relatedness brings "a sense of peace, a sense of stability, of continuity, and of certainty" (p.122). His arguments suggested that the person is attached to the place where the process of differentiation in childhood took place.

Searles (1959) saw the human relations with physical environment in four sequential stages. Chawla summarized Searles' theoretical views saying:

an initial lack of differentiation between the self and the world in infancy gradually gives ways in early and middle childhood to a sturdy sense of personal identity, achieved in good part through interactions with the physical world. Adolescent is a period of ambivalence: given the challenge of accepting human nature as it is,

there is a temptation to prefer intimacy with an idealized vision of nature to human intimacy. The acceptance of human uniqueness allows a mature relatedness with the nonhuman world, which expresses itself through, 'a large, lifelong measure of open interest in, of seeking and questioning, the meanings which this facet of one's life holds'. (p. 72)

Erickson (1963) also outlined the social context of developing relations with the physical world. Chawla (1992) interpreted Erickson's stating that,

In the first libidinal phase, Erickson accepted Freud's claim that satisfaction of hunger through the oral erogenous zone creates the first significant object - the mother's breast; but he added that the treatment that an infant receives at this time leaves a lifelong residue of basic trust or mistrust with respect to both society and the physical world: a sense that the universe is essentially benevolent or essentially dangerous and frustrating. (p. 72)

Erickson's model applied to the investigation of people and place relations, suggests the foundation of positive, robust attachments. In Chawla's (1992) words it is the,

basic sense that the world is good, acquired in infancy; delight in the world's satisfactions, secured through early childhood autonomy and initiative and middle childhood industry; adolescent identification with one's

region and country, a constructive commitment to create and preserve a good world, made through adult intimacy and generativity; and final profound acceptance of one's fate in space and time. (p. 72)

John Bowlby (1969) rejected Freud's drive theory and developed what he called a theory of relationships. Bowlby's (1969, 1973, 1980) ideas posit that, (1) attachment behavior refers to any form of behavior that predictably results in a person attaining or maintaining proximity or communication with some other preferred individual; (2) the various forms of attachment behavior occurs only when required (i.e., only under conditions of uncertainty, fear, separation, etc.); (3) attachment behavior is independent of feeding or sexual behavior, complementary to parental or caregiver behavior, and with the presumed biological function of protection from harm, attachment behavior must have been selected for during the course of evolution; (4) attachment behavior becomes organized into a goal-corrected behavior system; (5) many of human deepest emotions arise during the formation and maintenance (security), disruption (anxiety), or renewal (joy) of attachment relationships. For Bowlby, the organization of an individual's attachment behavior is closely related to the development and expression of emotions. Attachment and attachment behavior in this view is limited to the dyad of child-caregiver (Bowlby, 1969).

Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall (1978) through the manipulation of infant environment in a laboratory situation, examined the baby's behavior in relation to the mother, providing empirical support for Bowlby's theory. They called their methodology the "strange situation" (p. vii). It made possible the measurement and classification of different kinds of human attachment. Although, Ainsworth, Blehar, Water, & Wall's experiments were only related to mother-infant dyad, they came to the conclusion that those babies who were securely attached to their mother, and used the caregiver as secure base, explored and enjoyed their environment more. Sroufe (1983), another attachment researcher, studying attachment patterns in infants, states that "the baby who is doing well is the baby who has a healthy attachment to his caregiver, a relationship that promotes exploration and mastery of the environment" (p. 50).

Bowlby's and Ainsworth's Attachment Theory has emphasized attachment primarily in the infant-primary caregiver relationship. Chawla (1992) proposes that attachment should be more inclusive. People-environment researchers have never restricted the meaning of attachment to specific object nor to place attachments that are found in a specific life stage. However, early childhood attachment to place has not been directly investigated.

Attachment to place is a complex phenomenon, that includes multiple components, and the views differ with regard

to which and how many components comprise the phenomenon, this complexity creates tremendous barriers in studying and measuring memories of attachment to place. People choose to become attached to places in different ways, depending on their personal needs, opportunities, and resources, characteristics of the home and places in which they live.

2.6 Recollection of Childhood Places

Childhood places has been studied retrospectively through the medium of environmental autobiographies, interviews and personal histories that recorded important places through drawing, writing, or interview. As Chawla (1992) states: "these studies present adult attitudes to childhood places, rather than a direct experience of the child with place" (p. 73). There are only a few empirical studies that report childhood experience with place in adult memories (Chawla, 1992; Marcus, 1992; Riley, 1979).

Chawla (1992) was one of the first contemporaneous developmental psychologists to attempt to discuss attachment childhood places in adult memory. She has argued in favor of researching the child's attachment to places and the ontological internalization of these places in the personal process of development and maturation. Chawla (1992) says that "children are attached to a place when they show happiness at being in it and regret or distress at leaving it, and when they value it not only for the satisfaction of physical needs but for its own intrinsic qualities" (p.64).

Chawla (1992) developed a theoretical model to explain attachments to place in early and middle childhood and adolescence. According to Chawla, a preschool child will be happily attached to a place where it finds secure nurturance and where it can explore and, at least temporarily, appropriate attractive things: "a small but dependable, self-affirming, enticing world" stated Chawla (p. 66). Yet, in the basic sense, Chawla argues, that our place forms the "circumference of our experience" (p. 66). We are attached to it for better or for worse. For Chawla, there is a shadow side composed of disrupted development within frustrating or frightening places. Her ideas are parallel to Searles (1959) in that he showed that in severe cases of emotional disturbance, the developmental sequence breaks down and people become trapped in an infantile confusion over the boundaries between their own identity and the external world. Chawla (1995) states that, "On the level of memory also, our place of origin shapes who we are whether we like or not" (p. 66).

Chawla shows that healthy place attachment balances the inward pull of familiar center with the outward attractions of an expending world. Chawla suggests that children's and adolescents' success in coordinating these inward and outward pulls depends upon the quality of their social relationships, their sense of identity, and their places.

Chawla shows that on a physical level, attachment can be measured by children's local geographies. Constrained by

family rules and schedules and their own limited independence, children are "literally 'attached' to a succession of expanding local places, with their home at the center" (p. 66). Physical boundaries are defined by "family negotiations in which the child and his or her caretakers balance connections and separation in the context of the child's perceived abilities and the environment's attractions and risks" (p. 66).

Another point that Chawla identifies as important in investigating child attachment to place, "is that there is a reversal in social and territorial behavior from early to middle childhood to adolescence" (p. 66). Chawla shows that,

there is a sequence from close-to home, mixed-sex play in the preschool years, to expansive engagement with the local landscape in the company of same-sex friends in middle childhood, to the formation of new mixed-sex groups and a retrenchment in visible neighborhood use as adolescents turn inward into the privacy of their homes and outward to distant attractions. (p. 66)

Chawla came to the conclusion that comparing the findings above with psychoanalytic attachment, they look like "the negative and print of each other" (p. 68). For example, according to Searls's (1972) review of social attachment,

the maximum expression occurs between the years of birth through age 3 in the small child's attachment to his/her mother, decaying during the latency period of middle and

childhood, and finding new expression in attachments to a love partner and later to one's children in adolescence and adulthood. (p. 68)

Chawla argues that in contrast, when using behavior mapping and place preference as data, the most extensive neighborhood use is during the latency years. She stated that, "the physical environment, ... appears to loom largest in children's experience when signs of social attachment diminish" (p. 68).

Chawla explanation for this patterns of behaviors is that "psychoanalytic theories have emphasized sexual attachments focusing upon puberty and pre-Oedipal and Oedipal relations with parents, neglecting same-sex friendships" (p 68). Chawla (1986), suggests that these friendships, appears to be a vital ingredient of middle childhood. Moore (1986) suggested that just as friendships spur environmental exploration at this age, exploration may intensify friendships.

Chawla (1986) studying environmental autobiographies came to the conclusion that the most frequent source of attachment to a remembered childhood home was its association with loved family members. She shows that the preschool children could not explain the basis for their feelings. Preschool experience of place is colored by the quality of caretakers. In adolescents' autobiographies, Chawla found, a geographic division between the home and increasingly distant community places corresponding to the adolescent's ambiguous social

status and ambiguous feelings about being partly a young person still attached to the family and partly an independent adult. Chawla states that is in aging that attachment becomes more conceptual, as for example:

some places represent idealized identities or a now-vanished childhood. It is in middle childhood, when self-identity and social reputation require displays of physical strength and dexterity, that the value of the local environment appears to be most directly determined by its opportunities for individual challenge and play group. (p. 68)

Chawla (1992), provides three types of satisfaction that children have in experiencing place: security, social affiliation, and creativity. For preschool years security is present as the most basic feature of place experience. In young adolescents two other ways support the developing self-identity: "by affording conventional settings where young people can try out predefined social roles, or by offering unprogrammed space" (p. 68).

Chawla (1992) argues that autobiographical studies have some advantages. She stated that "personal meaning of the past, and its challenge of giving life a coherent pattern, presenting who one essentially is, encourages the careful description of places and feelings that are central to self-identity" (p. 74). She concluded that autobiography "serves as

a testimony to enduring emotional investments and as a selective yet suggestive perspective on the past" (p. 74).

Chawla (1986) analyzed feelings for childhood places in 38 randomly selected twentieth-century autobiographies. She reported four patterns of attachment that emerged from her subjects. The four forms of attachment are (a) affection; (b) transcendence; (c) ambivalence; and (d) idealization.

Affection. Chawla reported that the most common pattern of attachment to place in these 38 autobiographies were affection for a place associated with family love, happiness and security. She found a parallel between warmth of feeling for the place and for the people in it. The place was valued by families ties and cultural roots, embedded within a sense of belonging. These feelings of comfort and security parallel Schachtel's definition of autocentricity.

Transcendent memories. Chawla suggested that people also remember place as an "unforgettable" living presence in itself, exciting all five senses and inspiring exuberance, calm, or awe. She also discovered that in these autobiographies there is a feeling of dynamic relationship with the outer world, of a profound sense of connection with nature. It transcends social convention by expressing one-to-one communion with the environment. Their memories correspond to those described by Cobb (1959) on "The ecology of imagination in childhood" in which she stated that, "in these memories the child appears to experience both a sense of

discontinuity, an awareness of his own unique separateness and identity, and also a continuity, a renewal of relationship with nature as process" (p. 539). Transcendent memories fits with Schachtel's category of allocentric perception in which self-realization occurs through vivid encounters with the world.

Ambivalence. Chawla found that when a growing child observed that the place that he or she was bound to through family ties was stigmatized by society as a ghetto of poverty or racial inferiority, affection gave way to ambivalence. In those cases tenderness became mixed with a sense of vulnerability and entrapment. The place could not be rejected because it is where one's personality and perspective developed and there are deep ties of affection to it, but neither could it be comfortably embraced. The experience of those authors was a combination of pain and pleasure in their attachment to place.

Idealization. Starting from adolescence, some authors studied by Chawla demonstrated an identification with an environmental abstraction rather than a concretely lived-in-place. The place idealized for those authors were sometimes a geographic region, as in patriotism, or a place that is product of the imagination. She concluded that in this group "that the mentally inhabited world becomes an intensely felt symbol of personal desires and values" (p. 69). Chawla argued that "affective ties with place need to be considered as a

progression from immature to mature attachment having different qualitative properties over lifecourse" (p. 69). Chawla's findings brought a new understanding of psychological factors that play an important role in place attachment.

Although these are interesting findings, they are limited and can not be generalized to other populations because only few members of society write autobiographies, and those who write belong to a specific class that have achieved some artistic or intellectual recognition. The question that emerges here, if it is possible to replicate these findings in other populations such as working class or immigrant populations.

Another method of studying attachment to place is interviewing the subjects. Riley (1979) has studied attachment to place using this methodology. He reported that several motives have prompted designers, planners, and design researchers to examine how they had been influenced by their experience of place. Although, Riley did not report the number of professionals interviewed in his study, his work still useful in analyzing the power of childhood place experience in adulthood. Riley reported that those professionals that use their childhood experiences of place as a source of information in their daily life, tend in their work to perpetuate elements of settings where they were happy as children. Also, they become conscious of this powerful experience in the past with place, which guards them against

imposing their private biases on clients. Riley reported that those professionals that examine client's backgrounds, learn how childhood experiences have shaped others' enduring environmental pleasures and satisfactions. By discovering characteristics of happily remembered places, they can attempt to replicate these resources for clients.

Riley (1979) suggested that the remembering of a place may have less to with the place per se, and more to do with yearning for the emotion or mood it once evoked. Riley stated:

When we recall the comfort and security of childhood's twilight backyard, is it because of a desire for direct pleasurable environmental stimulus, or because we seek the emotion once associated with place? Adult recall might show not a simple desire for the pleasure of place but a need for the nurture of support experienced there.
(p. 13)

Reley's findings, as Chawla's ones, also are focused on a specific population (e.g., designers, planners, and design researchers), which creates difficulties in generalizing the results to other populations. It would be interesting to apply the same methodology to other members of society and compare the results with those reported by Reley.

Clare Cooper Marcus (1992), from the Department of Landscape Architecture, of the University of California, has been using "Environmental Autobiography" to study adult memories of childhood place. She developed this study over

years during which hundreds of essays were collected. She summarized her findings saying that "it is clear that these earliest childhood places are powerful images, resonating into adulthood via memories, dreams, even the creative work of some adult designers" (p. 89).

In Marcus's study, the remembrance of childhood places fell into three categories: (1) purpose built adult spaces, such as culverts, shacks, perches, or closets, taken over by children for their particular use; (2) hiding places "molded" out of the natural landscape, like nest or lairs; and (3) places specifically constructed for play, such as tree house of forts.

Marcus (1992) concluded from her investigation that human beings remember places 10, 20, 30 years later because

... these environments were richly connected with psychological processes that are part of human development in the middle years of childhood (approximately 6-12). The emotion experienced and the setting inhabited become so deeply intertwined that a recollection of the place triggers memories of feelings, and vice versa. (p. 92)

Cobb (1959) and Pearce (1977) also have argued that the middle years from 6 to 12 are genetically programmed for exploration of the world and bonding with nature. They argued that these are the years when our species originally learned the wilderness skills and intuitions necessary for survival.

In Marcus's (1992) study, the most frequent themes that emerge in her environmental autobiography study are (a) gaining control over space in order to feel a positive sense of self-identity; (b) the manipulation or molding a space to reflect who we believe we are (e.g., "This is John's bedroom"); (c) the importance of continuity with important environments and people of the past. Marcus in commenting about this idiosyncratic view of childhood place, stated that:

if our sense of identity develops and changes through our lives as a results of relationships with a variety of significant people and places, then it makes sense that we might wish to echo those places in the dwellings choose, and place mementos of such people within them. These acts of anchoring ourselves to times, people, and places in our personal past are critical to our emotional well-being; they allow us to weather the swells and storms of change that are components to a greater or lesser extent of every life path. (pp. 88-89)

Marcus came to the conclusion that:

space is appropriated at such a time of life to claim a setting where privacy can be regulated; to look for nurturance in natural world; to experience a sense of pride in the act of creating a place; and to imitate adult behavior - for example, by playing house, defending one's territory, or testing one's courage. (p. 92)

These characteristics are the basis of attachment to place in childhood and a vivid memory in adulthood. Memories serve to anchor human beings in time and space. As Marcus (1992) stated, memories "...are one means by which we make sense of the continual becoming that is the essence of life. Reflecting on who and where we once were helps us become clearer about who we may want to be" (p. 109). Marcus's findings present the same limitations of Chawla's and Reley's studies did. Can these findings be found in the general population? Or are these findings specific psychological characteristic of those that choose to work in architecture field?

In summary, the few empirical studies reviewed above, suggest that space is experienced as place through involvement and action in a particular location. The experience of place is primarily defined by its affective character, a strong, long-lasting emotional attachment of the person to a specific place (Chawla, 1992). It can be seen that through the development and maturation of human beings, these residual emotions are still powerful in the lives of adults. For many individuals their most powerful memories revolve around places - the house where they grew up, the secret places of childhood and adolescence, the setting where they first fell in love, and the neighborhood where they lived (Marcus, 1992). Such memories are part of the self that keeps the person cognitively and emotionally linked to a particular setting.

The qualitative data, specially environmental autobiographies, suggest that a multiplicity of experiences are connected with memories of places. The findings show that: (a) child will be happily attached to a place where it finds secure nurturance and where it can explore and at least temporarily appropriate attractive things: a small but dependable, self-affirming, enticing world; (b) healthy attachment balances the inward hold of an intimate familiar center with the outward attraction of an expanding world; (c) children and adolescents' success in coordinating these inward and outward pulls depend upon the quality of their social relationships, their sense of identity, and their place; (d) there is a reversal in social and territorial behavior from early to middle childhood to adolescence; (e) the most frequent source of attachment to a remembered childhood home was its association with loved family members; and (f) attachment to place includes: security, social affiliation, and creative expression and exploration (Marcus, 1992).

Of the points considered above emerges the idea that place attachment serves a number of functions for individual, groups, and cultures. On one hand place attachment may "provide a sense of daily and ongoing security and stimulation, with places and objects offering resources in which opportunities for self development, self-enhancement and personal experience are possible" (Marcus, 1992). On the another hand, place attachment may link people with friends,

partners, children, and kin in an overt visible fashion (Marcus, 1992). Place attachment may link people to religion, nation, or culture by means of abstract symbols associated with places, beliefs and values (Kunze, 1978). The place may, therefore, be a medium or milieu which embeds and is a repository of a variety of life experiences, is central to those experiences, and is inseparable from them (Marcus, 1992).

Cooper Marcus (1992) and Chawla (1992) describe how children's psychological development is dependent upon experiences in places where they learn to role-play, explore, create, control, and relate to their physical and social worlds. The psychological and social functions of place attachment are imprinted in memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, and meanings that relate the everyday physical setting in which people function. This constitutes place identity - which itself is an aspect of a person's self-identity. Low (1992) emphasizes how place attachment provides people and groups with a sense of unique cultural identity. A consistent theme in the literature is that place attachment not only ultimately plays a role in individual, group, and cultural identity, but that these levels of self-definition are not necessarily distinct from one another. Thus, individual self-definition often incorporates group and cultural processes, meanings, and values. At the same time, cultural identity often involves

shared and consensual meanings among individuals. On the other side, the interweaving of self, group, and cultural identities yields a complex set of processes that also are necessary to be integrated in investigating place attachment.

From this multidisciplinary literature review on place and childhood's place attachment it can be concluded that:

(1) Whereas a space is any defined piece of territory, a place has personal significance, a significance established through time spent in or with the space;

(2) The quality of future research on place attachment will depend on careful definitional and taxonomic work;

(3) Preliminary studies have focused in the following aspects of attachment to place:

(a) The role of affect, cognition and action in the development of attachment to place (Marcus, 1992).

(b) The role of time, space and action in place formation (Chawla, 1992).

(c) The social-interpersonal importance, including who is attached to place, and the social targets of attachments, both of which can include individuals, groups, communities, and cultures (Chawla, 1992).

(4) Attachment to place is not a unitary dimension but, instead, social involvement in and subjective feelings toward a place can take several forms. Individual's unique experiences, both present and past, play a strong role in developing affective bonds with places by shaping the nature

of interactions with and interpretations of physical environments. Past personal experience with place in childhood can form bonds with that specific place that remains active in the mind and influences attachment to current living places in adulthood (Chawla, 1992; Low, 1992).

(5) People choose to become attached to places in different ways, depending on their personal needs, opportunities, and resources, and on the characteristics of the homes and places in which they live. The personal experience, either direct or vicarious and social interaction leads the person to attach meaning to a defined space, as a result, within his or her own identity, it becomes a place. Place attachment is an energized, compelling, or vivid affectual state born of one's linking significant life events, key developmental themes, or identity process with a particular environment (Marcus, 1992; Chawla, 1992).

In conclusion experience with place, and memories of attachment to place are complex concepts, so complex that analyzing these phenomenon independently may not be possible. Instead it may be necessary to describe a variety of types and valuation of a place and attachment to it. Leaving a place does not end its influence. The mood created by a place can continue to influence behavior after leaving. The investigation of childhood's place attachment in adult memories brings a better understanding of the basic psychological processes such as affective appraisals, moods,

and emotional episodes in that locale. In short, the study of childhood's place attachment in adult memory promises to provide a deeper understanding of the basic psychological processes that are needed to enrich our understanding of person-physical environment transactions.

2.7 Transactional View of Attachment to Place

Altman and Rogoff (1987) went beyond object relations theory in developing a theoretical approach that included not only the action of an agent in making a place, but also how the formed place changed and influenced the agent. They rooted their theoretical view in a synthesis of Pepper's contextualism and selectivist orientation (1942, 1967) and Dewey and Bentley's (1949) transactional perspective. From Altman's and Rogoff's work has emerged a different world view that served as the theoretical foundation to the field of environmental psychology (Stokols & Altman, 1987, Handbook of environmental psychology), and as theoretical base from which the epistemology of attachment to place has been studied. They see the psychology of transactional approaches as "the study of the changing relations among psychological and environmental aspects of holistic units" (p. 24). According to this definition, "the unit of psychological analysis is hololistic entities such as events involving persons, psychological processes, and environments" (p. 24).

Irwin Altman (1992) reviewed the transactional perspective, and he presented the following principles as the essence of this approach:

(1) People and psychological processes are embedded in and inseparable from their physical and social contexts. Thus psychological phenomenon are treated as holistic units rather than a combination of separate elements. He quoted Werner, Altman, Oxley, and Haggarrd (1987) stating that:

Psychological phenomena are best understood as holistic events composed of inseparable and mutually defining processes, physical environments and social environments, and temporal qualities. There are no separate actors in an event; the actions of one person are understood in relation to the action of other people, and in relation to spatial, situational, and temporal circumstances in which the actors are embedded. These different aspects of an event are mutually defining and lend meaning to one another, and are so intermeshed that understanding one aspect requires simultaneous inclusion of other aspects in the analysis. (p. 244)

(2) Time, continuity, and change are intrinsic aspects of psychological phenomena. The transactional perspective treats time and change as a central aspect of phenomena. Altman summarizes quoting Altman and Rogoff (1987):

The transactional world view incorporates temporal processes in the very definition of events. The

transactional view shifts from an analysis of the causes of change to the idea that change is inherent in the system... the changing configuration itself is the focus of analysis ... change is viewed more as an ongoing intrinsic aspect of an event than as the outcome of the influence of separate elements on each other. (p. 25)

(3) Transactional world views assume a distinctive approach to inquiry and knowledge. Altman and Rogoff (1987) summarized the philosophy of science of transactional perspectives as involving the study of unique events along with recurring events, understanding phenomena from the view of different types of observers and participants. Altman (1992) states that:

whereas other world views tend to emphasize Aristotelian notions of efficient cause (antecedent/consequent relations between variables), material cause (outcomes derived from characteristics or essences of phenomenon itself), or final cause (events aimed toward a final, ideal state), transactional approaches focus on formal cause. This involves identification of patterns and forms of relationships, as well as principles underlying those patterns. (p. 269)

Based in these principles, Altman and his colleagues have used the transactional perspective to guide their research on "relationship formation, cross-cultural aspects of homes and personal relationships, temporal qualities of homes,

neighborhood relationships..." (Altman, 1992, p. 270). Although, transactional theory has been largely applied in investigating different relationships between the person and the environment, it does not have a specific method in which the theory could be empirically tested. For example, Reley (1992) used natural observation and interviews; Chawla (1992) and Marcus (1992) used environmental autobiography; Ahrentzen (1992) used natural observation, and Rubinstein & Parmelle (1992) used interviews as methodology to investigate the relationship of a population with place or object. The lack of a unified methodology to test the theory seems to be a challenge that still need to be solved. However, the positive side is that these different methodologies have contributed in multiple aspects to research on attachment to place.

The transactional perspective has created the possibility of studying not only the relationship of human beings with place but also the human reactions and ontological transformation manifested in form of attachment to that specific place. It creates a conceptual paradigm in which the interchangeable influence between the person and the place can be investigated. Altman (1992) states:

The transactional world view in addressing temporal, social, physical and psychological aspects of human experience with place has contributed in redefining the goal of psychology from the study of behavior and psychological processes to the study of the stable and

changing nature of psychological processes and their associated social and physical aspects. (p. 270)

The transational view offers a framework that can be a useful as guide for theoretical and empirical research that involve person, social and physical context. Based on the transactional assumptions the present study investigated the influences of attachment to childhood place in adult memory and the longing for the homeland on Brazilian immigrants in USA.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

3.1 Subjects

Subjects were Brazilian immigrants to the USA who residing in Massachusetts at the time of the study. Participants were born in Brazil, and immigrated to United States after the age of 18, and have been living in United States for a period of not less than two years but not longer than 15 years.

Brazilians are a new population in Massachusetts, only in recent years has this population has increased in number. According to 1990 Census of Population & Housing of Massachusetts, the Portuguese (i.e., population from Portugal, Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, Azores and Brazil) speaking population was 133,373 of which 1,337 were Brazilians immigrants. The largest concentration of Brazilians were in Middlesex County, with a total of 529, followed by Suffolk County, with a total of 360, Boston city with 318, Norfolk County 219, Worcester County 111, all other counties and cities had less than 50.

In one sample of 499 Brazilians reported by Public Use Microdata Sample: Massachusetts Characteristics of Persons in Selected Groups, (i.e., data obtained from University of

Massachusetts, department of Sociology, 1996) 262 immigrated between 1987-1990; 89 immigrated between 1985-1986; 64 immigrated between 1980-1984; 38 immigrated between 1970-1979; 32 immigrated between 1960-1969; the remainder immigrated before 1959. Of those 499 Brazilians, the level of education for 208 was between 0-11 grade; 141 had completed high school; 65 had some college; 18 had an associates degree; 43 were college graduates; and 24 had post-graduate degrees. As reported on this microdata sample, 133 spoke English very well; 147 spoke well; 143 spoke English not well; and the remainder did not speak English at all. Occupationally 346 Brazilian were employed in the civilian economy; 47 were less of 16 year old; 21 were unemployed; 1 was in the Armed Force; and 84 were not in the labor force. The largest number of Brazilians worked as sellers, 27; followed by administrative support with 24; health services with 19; all others were employed in wide range of jobs.

From this sample, 199 Brazilian were earning less than \$ 5,000 on year; 60 were earning between \$ 5,000 and \$9,999; 145 were between \$10,000 and \$19,999; 81 were earning between \$20,000 and \$39,999; the reminder were earning more than \$40,000. Ninety-one, of this sample, owned a house; 403 rented a house or apartment; and 5 lived with somebody else.

The large majority of the sample were between the age 25-34, with a total of 206; followed by the ages between 18-24, with a total of 102; 66 were between the age 35-44; 32 between

45-54; 29 were over 55 years of age; and 64 were under 18 years of age.

Although, the demographic information reported above is from the official Census for Foreign Born that reside in Massachusetts counties, cities and towns, it is well known that this is not an accurate account of Brazilians living in Massachusetts. According to Brazilian Consulate in Boston (personal conversation by telephone with a member of Brazilian Consulate in Boston in 10/23/96) the number of Brazilians living in Massachusetts is unknown by the state authority because of the high rate of illegal immigration.

Due to the level of difficulty in selecting a demographically representative sample of Brazilian immigrants, the participants, in this study, were selected through the Snowball or Chain Sampling Method. This is an approach for locating information-rich key informants. The process begins by asking a well-situated Brazilian person to inform about other Brazilians that might be willing to participate in this study. As Patton (1990) states: "by asking a number of people who else to talk with, the snowball gets bigger and bigger as you accumulate new information-rich cases" (p. 176). However, generalization is somewhat limited by subject self-selection, since Brazilian immigrants who are more interested in talking about their place experience could have been more likely to have participated in this study.

From different counties, cities, and towns a sample size of 50 women and 50 men were recruited for this study. They ranged in education from the 7th grade completion (9%) to possessing a graduate school degree (5%), and income ranged from under 11,000 (25%) to over 50,000 (9%). Age ranged from 22 years old (5%) to 62 years old (2%) with a mean of 35 years. Time living USA ranged from 2 to 15 years with an average of 5 years. They migrated from Brazil from a variety of regions. A large part of the sample professed some kind of religious belief (Protestants were 65%, Catholics 34%, and non-religions 1%). Fifty-five percent of the women were married, and the number of children ranged from none to 4 children by household with a mean of 2 children. For the male sample, 75% were married and the number of children in the household range from none to 5, with a mean of 2.4 children.

With respect to the overall Brazilian population, this moderate size of the sample should increase the likelihood that results are representative of the responses of Brazilian immigrants similar to those in the sample. Obtaining a sample of this size also makes it more likely that members of different socio-economic class, education, and religious groups were represented in numbers adequate to use in statistical comparisons.

From the whole sample, 3 men and 4 women participated in a depth, structured interview. The subjects were chosen according with their experience with place (i.e., 2 women and

2 men who had positive/pleasant memories of childhood place and 2 women and 1 men [the other two males with a negative/unpleasant memory of childhood place did not want to participate in this interview] who have negative/unpleasant memories of childhood place). The interview guided participants throughout their experience with childhood place as well as with the immigrated place.

3.2 Procedures

Well-Being Questionnaire (WBQ). First the subjects answered a WBQ which was designed to measure the subject's current sense of well-being in United States. Andrews and Withey (1976) identified the construct "well-being" as "quality of life". According to the authors of WBQ, the WBQ was developed with the intent of measuring the global evaluations (i.e., how a person feels about life as a whole) of types of thoughts and feelings that people may have when they evaluate their well-being and how these different thoughts may function with respect to one another. Although "quality of life" depends from personal and cultural interpretation, the WBQ includes a global view of well-being that appears to transcend cultures. The WBQ is a 110-item, 7 point Likert scale which is completed by the respondent (for instrument sample see Appendix B, page 154). The scale is designed to measure Andrews & Withey's (1976) list of well-being indicators for the American population. The instrument used here includes items identified by Andrews & Withey

(chapter 8, pp. 249-281) to measure American's Well-Being: Specific Life Concerns. The indicators that were considered in this study are listed in the table 2.

The questionnaire items used were rated on the Delighted-Terrible Scale (D-T Scale). The D-T Scale includes seven on-scale categories: 1- Terrible; 2- Unhappy; 3- Mostly Dissatisfied; 4- Mixed (about equal satisfied and dissatisfied); 5- Mostly satisfied; 6- Pleased; and 7- Delighted. Although the authors did not report the reliability and the internal consistency of WBQ, this instrument has been widely used in research of well-being and quality of life (Kramer & Conoley, 1992). In this study the WBQ score was the mean of the 17 sub-scales.

Table 2 - Indicators: Terms of Well-Being for Brazilian Immigrants

1. Nation	2. Political Participation
3. Economic Situation	4. Community
5. Services and Facilities	6. Education
7. Jobs	8. Neighborhood
9. Friends and Associates	10. Home
11. Place	12. Seasonal Changes
13. Food	14. Family
15. Self	16. Interpersonal Relationship
17. Leisure and Leisure-Times Facilities	

Immigrant's Longing for Homeland Measures (ILFHM). After having answered the WBQ, participants rated their current feelings, thinking, and desire to return to homeland in a 12-item scale (i.e., of 6 point Likert scale, 0= not at all, 1= a little bit, 2= to some extent, 3= rather much, 4= much, and 5= very much). Because of lack of instruments designed to measure the immigrant's longing to return to homeland, the ILFHM was created specifically for this investigation with the objective of exploring the idiographic view of Brazilian immigrant's teleological goals to return to his or her homeland. The total score for the scale was the mean of the subject's score on the 12 items ranging from 5 (highest possible score) to 0 (lowest possible score). (For instrument sample see Appendix D on page 166).

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE). At the end of this session, participants completed the RSE. The RSE (Rosenberg, 1965) is a ten-item instrument that assesses perceptions about the self. It can be administered to children, adolescents, and adults. Rosenberg reports a test-retest reliability of .92 and an internal consistency reliability of .72 for the scale. Walters and Simoni (1993), with a sample of 96 subjects, found an internal consistence reliability coefficient for the scale (Cronbach's alpha) of .80. Silber and Tippet (1965) reported a 2-week test-retest correlation of .85 for the scale, which they found to correlate from .56 to .83 with several similar measures and clinical assessment. Rosenberg (1965) provided

evidence of the scale's construct validity by demonstrating its correlation with several mental health measures theoretically related to it. Rosenberg (1965), using a sample of over 5,000 high-school-age students, supported his scale by demonstrating its relationship to depressive affect, psychosomatic symptoms, and a number of other constructs. Studies assessing construct validity have found a significant relationship between low RSE and depression, psychosomatic symptoms, and peer group reputation (Godsmith, 1986). Scores were obtained by summing responses to the 10 items, with scores ranging from 1 to 4. A high score indicated a high self-esteem and a low score indicated a low self-esteem. (For instrument sample see Appendix E on page 169).

Place Experience Recall (PER). The subjects participated in a recall experience of childhood attachment to place after finishing RES questionnaire. Recall in this investigation was understood as the evocation of absent objects (Piaget & Inhelder, 1971; Mandler, 1988). It also assumed that recall has an affective aspect, as stated by Barcklay (1994): "Remembrances that become selves are pregnant with meanings: Meanings are bound together by the emotional life of individuals interconnected with the lives of others" (p. 55). The rationale of PER was that these memories were categorical, as presented by Neisser (1994) in describing autobiographical memories. Neisser assumes that autobiographical memories are: (a) actual past events that include the historical self who

participated in them; (b) those events as they were then experienced, including the individual's own perceived self at the time; (c) the remembering self, that is, the individual in the act of recalling those events on some later occasion; and (4) the remembered self constructed on that occasion.

In the PER the interviewer asked participants to use their memory as best as they could. A relaxing exercises was done for a period of 3 minutes (for relaxation instructions see Appendix C, page 162). After the subject has relaxed the interviewer asked participants to think back to some earlier times in their life (age between 6-15 years) and recall some specific place that they have lived in their childhood in Brazil. This could be a place where they had a positive or negative experience (a period of 1 or 2 minutes of silence was give in order the person could retrieve the place image in consciousness).

In the next step, the participants chose one of those places to remember in greater detail. It was assumed that remembered place had played a significant part in the subject's life and had became part of the historical self, the subject described this autobiographical memory in form of verbal narrative (Bauer, 1993; Neisser, 1994; Nelson, 1993). In order to help the participant to structure their narrative participants were asked to consider the following points: What the place looked like; how the place smelled; what the participant did and what others did; what participants were in

general thinking and feeling in that place; what specific conditions or events in that place made the subjects respond emotionally as they did. The subjects's narratives were recorded using a cassette tape recorder. The time spent for each narrative ranged from 3.2 minutes to 7.8 minutes with a mean of 3.8 minutes.

Self-Confrontation Measurement (SCM). All participants, after retrieving their memory of place, were confronted with their own narratives that were constructed in the PER. The participant listened to his/her own narrative as recorded and he main valuations that described the subject feelings for that childhood place. The valuations were statements that described the importance of that childhood place for the participant. These valuations were now recorded in a written form by the interviewer. After the valuations were selected, the examiner read to the participant his or her valuations, in order to checked with the interviewee if the valuations reflected his or her memory of attachment to childhood place (for valuation example see Appendix A, page 153). If there was a valuation that the participant did not agree reflected his or her experience with that place, that valuation was not considered. If the participant suggested that a valuation was left out, it was incorporated and considered as part of participant's experience with place to be evaluated. Participant were also free to add more information or change any point about their experienced place narrative. After

listening to summary of their valuations about place in childhood, the participants rated these valuations in term of the sixteen feelings as shown on the Table 3. The selection of these feelings was based in the self-confrontation methodology developed by Hermans (1987). The procedure involves elicitation of a narrative and associating this narrative with a standardized set of affect-denoting terms.

Table 3 - Affect Terms Used in the Valuation of Attachment to Childhood Place in Adult Memory and the Current Immigrated Place

1. Joy	7. Caring	12. Intimacy
2. Self-Esteem	8. Love	13. Despondency
3. Happiness	9. Unhappiness	14. Pride
4. Worry	10. Tenderness	15. Disappointment
5. Strength	11. Self-confidence	16. Inner calm
6. Enjoyment		

(Source: Adaptation of Herman's (1993) affect terms used in the Self-Confrontation Method, p. 221).

The participants received a page with 16 feelings, and concentrating on rating their valuation of childhood place memory, they indicated on a 0-5 scale to what extent they experienced each affect in relation to the experienced place narrative (0= not at all, 1= a little bit, 2= to some extent,

3= rather much, 4= much, and 5= very much). Hermans (1987) examined test-retest reliability (coefficient alpha) and internal consistence reliability of SCM and found 0.85 and 0.88 respectively (see the Results section about participant's negative or positive experience with place classification).

Depth Interview (DI). A sample of 3 men and 4 women (i.e., 2 women and 2 men who had positive/pleasant memories of childhood place and 2 women and 1 men [only three men reported to have a negative experience with childhood place, and 2 of these 3 participants declined to participate in the interview] who had negative/unpleasant memories of childhood place) participated in a depth interview about their experience with childhood place. The DI was a standardized open-end interview (Patton, 1990) that consisted of a set of 18 questions worded and arranged with the intention of taking each respondent through the same sequence and asking each respondent the same questions with essentially the same words. The questions asked intended to guide the participants in their experience with place or aspects of his or her life in which place was of great importance. The questions asked of the subjects included important unites of meaning from past and present (e.g., how was that place important (or offered) to the participant; when the participant reflected back in time, how important to him/her is that experienced place now; in what ways were the subject's thoughts, feelings and actions in that place typical of thoughts, feelings, and actions that he or she have had in

other places). These questions invited subjects to reflect on their experience with place in childhood in such way that they felt free to mention those most relevant experiences in that place that were part of their life narrative. Some flexibility was permitted if probing was necessary. The focus was on a qualitative details, depth, and individual uniqueness of each subject's experience with place. The interview format allowed the data or information to emerge from the participant's frame of reference. The underlying assumption to this approach was that information given would be meaningful, understandable, and capable of being made explicit (for the interview format sample see Appendix C, page 162).

3.3 Design of the Study

The general methodological form of this inquiry contains three major strategies. First, it included a hololistic approach which means that the design was open to gathering data on any number of aspects addressed by the inquiry in order to put together as complete a picture as possible, not only regarding the description of the memory of childhood place and the participant's experience in the new immigrated land, but also the participant's feelings expressed through the retrieval of a memory of place. This study was based on the transactional world view (Altman & Rogoff, 1987) which has created the possibility of studying not only the relationship of human beings with place, but also the ontological transformation that happened in the human psyche

(i.e., this transformation is manifested in form of attachment to a specific place). Second, the approach was inductive. In this way categories or dimensions of the analysis were naturalistic because no attempt was made by the researcher to manipulate the setting, and there was no prior constraints on what the inquiry outcomes would be. Third, a qualitative evaluation was used in order to explore using the participant's own narrative, the link between an immigrants' memory of their childhood attachment to place and their own well-being in this country and their longing to return to their homeland.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

4.1 Quantitative Analysis

In order to illuminate relations between the attachment to childhood place in adult memory, immigrant's sense of well-being in the USA, and the longing to return to the homeland, the following four questions were addressed: a) Does immigrants' positive/negative memory of childhood place influence their sense of well-being in the USA?; (b) Is there a gender difference in the attachment to childhood place and the sense of well-being in the USA?; c) Is there a relationship among positive/negative feelings about childhood place and self-esteem?; and d) Is there a relationship between attachment to childhood place and the immigrant's longing to return to homeland? The first part of the results reviews the quantitative findings to the questions above while the second section review the findings from qualitative interview with 7 Brazilian immigrants about their experiences with childhood place and the influences of those experiences on their lives in the USA.

4.1.1 Description of Quantitative Data

Memory of Childhood Place and the Immigrants's Sense of Well-Being in the USA

In order to examine the connection between Brazilian immigrants' feelings of well-being in the USA and the memory of attachment to childhood places in their homeland, subjects were classified into positive/pleasant and negative/unpleasant memory of attachment to childhood place groups according to their SCM scores. The cut off score in this classification was based in the negative and positive subscale scores for each participant. If a participant had a higher score in the positive subscale than in the negative subscale, this participant was classified as having a positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place, and vice-versa (e.g., if a participant had a score 4.58 in the subscale measuring positive feelings about childhood place and 4.01 on the subscale measuring negative feelings about childhood place, this subject was classified as having positive feelings about childhood place). According to Self-Confrontation Measurement (SCM) results, from the whole population in the study, 80 participants were classified as having a positive experience with childhood place ($M = 2.99$, $SD = 1.10$, $R = 2.00 - 5.00$) and 20 participants were classified as having negative experience with childhood place ($M = 2.46$, $SD = 1.20$, $R = .25 - 5.00$). This classification was made without regarding gender difference. According to SCM results, men tended to have more

positive experience ($M = 3.89$, $SD = .77$, $R = 2.00 - 5.00$) with childhood place than negative experience ($M = 1.79$, $SD = 1.24$, $R = .25 - 4.75$) with childhood place. Men tended to remember childhood place less negatively than women (i.e., the women obtained an SCM $M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.19$, $R = .75 - 5.00$ for positive memories about childhood place; $M = 2.09$, $SD = 1.35$, $R = .25 - 5.00$ for negative memories about childhood place). According to Immigrant's Longing For Homeland Measure (ILFHM) results men also tended to have higher desire to return to home land ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.04$, $R = 1 - 4.66$) than women ($M = 2.68 - 1.19$, $R = .50 - 4.91$). A summary of the means and standard deviation is presented on Table 4, on page 99.

A Person product-moment correlation was carried out in order to identify if there was any association between attachment to childhood place and immigrant's well-being in the USA. There was no significant correlation between the positive/pleasant feelings about childhood places and the immigrant's sense of well-being ($r = .0095$). There was no significant relationship between the negative/unpleasant feelings about childhood place and the immigrant's sense of well being for men ($r = .03$, $p = .82$), but there was for women ($r = -.31$, $p = .03$). There was a negative relationship between the positive feelings and negative feelings about childhood place for women ($r = -.61$, $p = .00$) but not for men ($r = -.18$, $p = .22$).

Table 4 - Mean and Standard Deviation Table for Well-Being Questionnaire, Positive and Negative Feelings About Childhood Place, Self-Esteem, and Immigrant's Longing for Homeland Measure

Variables	Total Sample						Men						Women								
	Total			Positive			Negative			Total			Positive			Negative					
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>			
Well Being Q.	4.21	.58	100	4.20	1.51	50	4.19	.67	47	4.38	.14	3	4.22	1.51	50	4.23	.54	33	4.20	.46	17
Positive																					
Feelings	3.54	1.06	100	3.89	.77	50	3.94	.74	47	3.00	.86	3	3.20	1.19	50	3.73	.94	33	2.17	.94	17
Negative																					
Feelings	1.94	1.30	100	1.79	1.24	50	1.62	1.10	47	4.25	.50	3	2.09	1.35	50	1.30	1.81	33	3.63	1.69	17
Self-Esteem	2.99	.48	100	3.04	.45	50	3.00	.44	47	3.16	.77	3	2.94	.50	50	3.00	.47	33	2.82	.57	17
Longing for																					
Home	2.89	1.14	100	3.09	1.04	50	3.09	1.01	47	3.05	1.80	3	2.68	1.19	50	2.85	1.22	33	2.35	1.11	17

A Person product-moment correlations was also carried out for males and females as separate groups in order to identify if there was any gender difference in associating attachment to place and the immigrant's well-being, self-esteem, and the immigrant's desire to return to homeland. For males and females there was no significant correlation between the positive/pleasant memories of childhood place and their desire to return to homeland ($r = .19$, $p = .18$; $r = .15$, $p = .28$) respectively); for males there was no correlation between their well-being and their longing to return to homeland ($r = .00$).

However for woman participants in this study there was a significant negative correlation between their well-being and the longing to return to homeland ($r = -.30$, $p = .03$); However for men the correlation between their well-being and the longing to return to homeland was insignificant ($r = -.006$); for males who had a negative/unpleasant memory about childhood place had a modest correlation with longing to return to homeland ($r = -.08$), for females who had a negative/unpleasant memory of childhood place the correlation was insignificant ($r = -.01$); there was a significant positive correlation for men who had a positive/pleasant memory of childhood place and the longing for homeland ($r = .19$); there was a significant positive correlation for women who had positive/pleasant memory of childhood place and the longing to return to homeland ($r = .15$); there was a significant negative

correlation between positive and negative memory for both women and men ($r = -.61$ for women and $r = -.17$ men); there was a significant negative correlation between negative memory and self-esteem for men and for women ($r = -.19$ for women and $r = -.21$ for males); for males there was a significant positive correlation between self-esteem and well-being ($r = .24$); for women the correlation between self-esteem and well-being was insignificant ($r = -.07$).

A summary of correlations among the variables for males and females are presented on the Table 5, on page 102.

Further data analysis was made using One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) in order to analysis the data from WBQ scores. The raw scores were used in the statistical analysis and a significance level of .05 selected. The result ratified the above findings showing that there was no significant differences between those who had positive/pleasant feelings in remembering childhood place and those who have negative/unpleasant feelings about childhood place in their sense of well-being in the USA $F(1, 99) = .0109$, ns.

Gender Difference in the Attachment to Childhood Place and the Sense of Well-Being in USA

The relationship between gender and memory of attachment to childhood place in association with immigrants' sense of well-being in the USA was examined with Multiple Regression Analysis. The WBQ scores were considered as dependent variable; gender (male and female), memories of positive

Table 5 - Men and Women's Person Product-Moment Correlation Among Positive and Negative Feelings About Childhood Places, Immigrant's Longing for Homeland Measure(ILFHM), Well-Being Questionnaire, and Self-Esteem

Variables	Men					Women				
	ILFHM	Negative	Positive	Self-Esteem	Well-Being Q.	ILFHM	Negative	Positive	Self-Esteem	Well-Being Q.
ILFHM	1.000	-.088	.192	-.028	-.006	1.000	-.012	.155	.030	-.305
Negative	-	P= .541	P= .180	P= .845	P= .963	-	P= 929	P= .282	P= .834	P= .031
	1.000	1.000	-.176	-.213	.033	1.000	1.000	-.616	-.194	-.040
Positive	-	-	P= .221	P= .137	P= .820	-	-	P= .000	P= .176	P= .782
	1.000	1.000	1.000	-.082	-.078	1.000	1.000	1.000	.101	.095
Self-Esteem	-	-	P= .570	P= .587		-	-	P= .485	P= .511	
	1.000	1.000	1.000	.240		1.000	1.000	1.000	-.074	
Well Being Q.	-	-	P= .092			-	-	P= .609		
	1.000	1.000	1.000		1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	

feelings about childhood place and memories of negative feelings about childhood place were considered as independent variables. The raw scores were used in the statistical analysis and a significance level of .05 selected. The results showed that none of the three variables (i.e., gender, positive feelings about childhood place, and negative feelings about childhood place) explained the variance in the immigrant's well-being $F(3, 96) = .02030$, ns. Further analysis with one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed no significant difference between gender's scores and immigrant's well-being in the USA $F(3, 96) = .02$, ns.

The next step in the data analysis was considering whether women who immigrated from Brazil had a more negative/unpleasant feeling about childhood place than Brazilian immigrant men. A One-sample Chi-Square test was used in order to determine whether there was a gender difference in the distribution of the sample as having negative feelings or positive feelings about childhood place, the obtained Chi-Square $(1, N = 100) = 12.24$, $p < .05$. The results showed that there was a significant difference in the population distribution at the .05 level of significance when gender was taken in consideration. Analysis of Chi-Square showed that on a cell in which the observed number for women with negative feelings was 17, the expected number was 10. The reversal could be noted for men, the expected number was 10, but the observed number was only 3. However, when males ($n = 3$),

classified as having negative feelings about childhood place were compared with the women ($n = 17$), also classified as having negative feelings about childhood place, there was no difference between their scores on the SCM ($F(1, 99) = 1.4227$, ns). They saw their experience with childhood place as equally negative. However, when males ($N = 47$) who were classified as having positive feelings about childhood place were compared with women ($N = 33$), who were also classified as having positive feelings about childhood place, there was a significant difference on SCM scores ($F(1, 79) = 11.53$, $p < .0010$) with men having a higher mean score ($M = 3.89$, $SD = .7758$) on the SCM than women ($M = 3.20$, $SD = .197$).

The Relationship Among Well-Being, Positive Feelings/Negative Feelings About Childhood Place and Self-Esteem

In order to address the third hypothesis of this study, that positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place and high sense of well-being in the USA were associated with a higher self-esteem; that positive/pleasant feelings to childhood place and low sense of well-being in the USA were associated with a high self-esteem; that negative/unpleasant feelings about childhood place with high sense of well-being in the USA also was associated with low self-esteem; that negative/unpleasant feelings of attachment to childhood place with a low sense of well-being in the immigrated place was associated with low-self esteem, the data was reorganized and

the subjects were classified in four groups according to their SCM and WBQ scores: 1) Immigrants with positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place and a positive sense of well-being(++); (2) immigrants with positive/unpleasant feelings about childhood place and a negative sense of well-being (+-); (3) immigrants with negative/unpleasant feelings about childhood but with high sense of well-being in the immigrated place (-+); and (4) immigrants with negative/unpleasant feelings about childhood place with negative sense of well-being in the immigrated place (--). The Self-Esteem scores were determined by the calculation of each participant's mean score on Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE). An analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was used as a statistical control for difference on gender. The result showed that there was no significant difference between the genders on self-esteem scores ($F(1, 98) = 1.15, ns$).

In order to analyze the difference among the groups' means on RSE scores, One-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was computed. There was no significant difference among the four groups $F(3, 96) = .5112, ns$. Results indicated no difference in Self-Esteem scores (i.e., according to RSE scale scores) among the four groups. This suggested that neither the immigrant's memory of childhood place nor the immigrant's sense of well-being could explained the immigrant's current self-esteem. A description of means and standard deviations are on Table 6, on page 106.

Attachment to Childhood Place and the Immigrant's Longing to Return to Homeland

The fourth hypothesis of this study was that positive/pleasant feelings of attachment to childhood place were associated with the immigrant's longing to return to homeland (i.e., according to ILFHM scores) and that negative/unpleasant feeling of attachment to childhood place had the opposite effect. A 2 x 2 analysis-of-variance factorial design (i.e., gender: female and male x memories of childhood place: positive and negative) was used in order to analyze the data. At 0.05 level of significance, there was

Table 6 - Means and Standard Deviation for Self-Esteem, by Valence of Feelings (Positive or Negative), and by Current Sense of Well-being

Variable	Cases	Self-Esteem	
		M	SD
Valence of feelings about childhood Place by Valence of Well-Being	100	2.9940	.4841
(++)	53	3.0450	.4055
(+-)	28	2.9643	.5321
(-+)	16	2.9063	.6126
(--)	3	2.8333	.7095

Note: Positive and negative feelings about childhood place referred to memories about childhood place in Brazil. The sense of well-being referred to immigrant's well-being in the USA. Self-Esteem is rated on a scale of 4 the highest score to 1 the lowest score.

no significant difference between those who had a negative feelings about childhood place and those who had a positive feelings about childhood place and their longing to return childhood place and their longing to return to homeland $F(3, 96) = 2.74$, ns. An analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was used as a statistical control for differences in gender. The ANCOVA analysis showed that gender did not influence on immigrant's longing for homeland, $F(3, 96) = 1.83$, ns.

4.2 Qualitative Analysis

The main focus of analysis was the data collected during the interview with 7 Brazilian immigrants (i.e., 2 men and 2 women who had positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place; 1 man and 2 women who had negative/unpleasant feelings about childhood place. As Patton (1990) points out, studies which use qualitative methods will include much pure description. In this analysis the participant's experiences are presented as direct quotes and synthesized into a profile which attempted to maintain the integrity and meaning of the subject's verbal expression. Considering the nature of this study, it seems appropriate to employ the method of "issue-focused" analysis (Weiss, 1994). This approach involves organizing the data in terms of profiles that identify important themes, topics, and elements. The analysis is mainly inductive, which allows these elements to emerge from the information gathered from participants. The topics emerged

in the subjects' narratives were "cross-case" (Patton, 1990) compared in order to identify important similarities within the individual experiences with childhood places. The data were analyzed in two different sets: (1) the "locus" of childhood place; and (2) remembering childhood places in a foreign land.

The "Locus" of Childhood Place

The childhood places remembered with the most emotional power by the subjects in this study included a variety of features identified by each participant as being the core of their experience with childhood place. A male subject, who was classified as having positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place, described his place as:

"That was a specific place, that I lived in Brazil. It was not specific a house, or a specific location. It was a small farm, where my family lived at that time. At bottom of the land there was a small river, where I learned to swim and fish. We mechanized the land and we planted soybeans and wheat. There I learned the basic principles of being a farmer. I remember that the house was made of bricks. It was small house, that my father never really finished the construction. There was a warehouse, where we kept the harvest products. Below to the warehouse, was a field, where we kept the cattle. We were very poor. I did not have a bed to sleep, but I had my room. In that place, there was not electricity or running water. Even though, that was a rough place. It still alive in

my memory. I can see the brown land, the green grass on the field. I have a clear image of it. I can visualize the small road to the well, the river, the house, my room. Everything is so alive in my mind when I think about that place. I lived in this house from age of 13 to 16 years."

In this description place is remembered by the subject as the loci where he had the opportunity to explore and develop himself. The place was the container of an agriculture society, and the subject enjoyed being part of it. The "brown land" that was transformed through mechanization appears in his descriptions as a parallel to his own ontological transformation from childhood to adulthood. The memory of place is filled with different parts of the place that were related to male activities in that society. It was the "land," "the warehouse," "the house," "cattle," the "father" that emerged in his memory creating meaning for his experience in that place.

The same theme was seen with an other man who also reported having positive experiences with a childhood place.

"This place is constantly in my mind. My family moved to this place when I was 8 years old. It was a small farm. The house was on the highest part of the land. We could see so far way. I still can remember the thinning paths, the rocks, the trees, the cattle. In front of the house there was a big tree which gave shade in the summer. I remember many nights my father and I stayed outside of the house making plans about

our future. Making plans about our daily activity in the farm. The land was dark and fertile. I worked a lot in that place. There I learned what was hard work. My father taught me to plow the land with bulls. That was a great experience. I remember the freshness of the land falling in my feet when I was working."

In both descriptions there is a sense of separation between the person and the place. Place, for these men, was important as a resource to fulfill the subjects' needs. The place was the never tired giver. It was the "fertile" and "dark land" that brought resources needed by the family. The constant theme in these descriptions was: Place is the loci where male activities take place.

The women, that described their experience as positive/pleasant with childhood place, had a different view about place. One subject described the place as follows:

"We lived close to a beautiful beach. I always loved the beach. This beach is special to me because every day we played and enjoyed it. It had clear blue water, sand dunes with its typical green vegetation, long sandy beach and some small hill at the end with vegetation, wild flowers and beautiful rocks that end with vegetation. I loved the smell of salty water, the breeze, the large waves with foam, the color of water and the sense of freedom, peace and calm it always brought."

In this description place is not seen as the container or source for the status quo of society. Place was seen as refuge

sanctuary from the daily troubles. The place remembered was not something to be explored or changed. The subject connected with the place without changing the place. There was a sense of a depth connection and holistic union between the subject and the place. There was a sense of solitude where the subject in dialectic relationship with the place experienced it without owning it. Place is to be experienced not to be owned.

The same kind of description was made by the other female interviewed that had a positive/pleasant feeling about place.

"The place of my childhood that I remember the most was where I lived between the ages of 7 to 13 years. It was a place with green hills and orange trees. I still can feel the place smell. It smells like orange flowers. This was the happiest time of my childhood, I loved riding horses, rolling down the grassy hills, climbing trees, playing hide and seek with my dog and my sister."

In this description there is sense of a depth enjoyment on the experienced place. It was as playful place. There was not a sense of ownership or exploration of the place. Place was a source of enjoyment. The memory of place was related with an experience that creates a sense of happiness in the world.

Comparing the subjects that reported having a positive experience with childhood places, two different views about emerged about places. For men, the remembered place was that locale that offered the opportunity to explore and fulfill

the economic needs of the family or society. Place was seen as the loci containing the cultural structure that will be transmitted to the next generation. There was a feeling of continuity of society's status quo. Place was there, it is to men to explore and own it. Women, who remembered childhood place as positive and pleasant in their lives, saw place as source of spiritual energy and enjoyment. Place was not transformed by their activity, but it was experienced deep in their beings. Place was a refuge and a center of energy for life. Place had life and it is up to human beings to connect and experience it.

Not all memories of childhood place were positive and pleasant. In this study 20% of subjects (17 women and 3 men) reported have had more negative memories of childhood place than positive (80% of participants reported have had a positive memory about childhood place, i.e., 47 men and 27 women). A male who was classified as having a negative/unpleasant memory of childhood place described that place as follows:

"I have 3 brothers and 1 sister. We lost our parents when we were young. I was the oldest of the children. I took responsibility to care for them. The place that I remember the most was the house that we went to live in after my mother died. Our father had died 1 year before from cancer. There were we, 5 children, in a small house in the back of our uncle's house. That was an old house. The house had a dark

color like gray. It seems that the house was painted to match our suffering. I can see pain, poverty, misery in every single room of that house. I don't remember to have one happy day in this house. However, that was the childhood place that I remember the most. It seems that suffering imprinted the house image deep in my psyche. We lived in this house for a period of 9 years. I saw my siblings grow. I saw them go and never more come back. This was a saddest phase of my life, a sadness lived in the saddest place that I know."

In this description, memory of childhood place was not merely a function of repeated experience. It was not a chosen place. The emotional aspect, in remembering that place, brings to the subject a sense of awareness of a particular experience that brought him and his siblings to live there. He looked for a cognitive understanding of his experience in order to provide meaning and structure for that period of his life. There was not direct experience with place. Place was seen as an hermetic container that held inside the family's pain. The subject was full of grief and loss. He could not see beyond pain. The place became hostile, not because it was hostile, but because the subject saw himself as a "prisoner" in it. The place image is blurry, he was unable to distinguish his emotion from the physical aspect of the place. The place became a projection of his own emotional inner world. The suffering was in "every single room." In this description there is no sense of connection with the place nor

an idealization of the place. The subject became enmeshed with the place. He had difficulty separating his experience from the experience loci. He felt alienated and alone in the world.

The women, who had a negative/unpleasant memory of childhood place, presented a different dimension in their description of place than the male subject. One female described the place as follows:

"That place had six rooms. It was a big house with a lot of furniture. It was located in a dark street where always had some trucks in front of it. There was a small back yard and which was full of old stuff. Interesting when I remember that place, I see the image of it only in black and white. It is as I was watching a black and white movie. I don't see any color at all. But I remember every single corner of that place. I lived there between ages 9 and 14. When I remembered that place it comes the image of my family. The place and that image seems always to be together. We were outside playing ball and my grandfather was inside peeling oranges for all of us. My grandmother was in the kitchen cooking and my father fixing the truck. In that house there was a small room. I always slept there after playing. This is a vivid place in my mind, I have tried to erase it from my memory, but more I try to forget, more vivid the image becomes. When I remember the house, I see my grandfather trying to abuse me. Also, my family fought a lot. I can remember many fights with chairs flying and people yelling."

Differently from the man above who had a negative experience with childhood place, this woman does not identify her feelings with the place. The place was seen as an activator of the social experience memory. The place assumed a passive role in her life. It was seen as a silent witness of her pain and abuse. The childhood place was seen as achromatic, as a "white and black movie." The memory activation of that place brings the image of people. People who she loved. People that were suppose to protect and care for her. However, it was there that she was abused and "terrorized" by domestic violence. There was no relationship between the subject and the place. Place was the arena, the dormant guard that silently contemplated her grandfather abusing her.

Another woman who had a negative experience with childhood place, described that place as follows:

"It was a small house on the first road of that village. Most of the rooms didn't have doors and the house was frequently filled with people. Behind the house there were apartments all around the lot, so there was a good amount of traffic of people on the side of the house. We all knew each other very well. When there was a fight in one of the apartments the other neighbors intervened, most often by calling my mother who was usually the one who faced the problem and helped with whatever was the case. She was often not only the landlady but also the "doctor", and the "priest"

and the "social worker" for most of the neighborhood. The house was made of bricks and painted in light green. In front of the house there was a road and on the other side only green trees that belonged to a farm down the other road. In that road there were people walking and also cars drove by frequently. I can remember the way the place was, I can still see the colors, shape, etc. However when I remember that place, it is usually as if I was dreaming and it wasn't a real place that I had lived. I have this clear image, and at the same time appears just as being a dream. A dream that happened long time ago. I lived in that place from age 4 to 14 years. I can remember my mother, father, sister and two brothers and always someone else, a cousin, friend or a person I've never seen before that were living in that place. In this image that I remember there is a mix of people and place. For example, I can see my father looking at my friends in a sensual way, and I getting very uncomfortable and suspicious. I can see myself calling my friends to play outside. Also, I remember my father was very physical and sexual abusive with my sister. I don't remember to have one single day that I was happy in that place."

This woman remembers place as a frozen object where she lived and witnessed the damage that was happening in her family. Also, place was seen as the activator of a bad social experience memory. The place image remembered was not clear for the subject. It "seems as a dream," as some phantasmagoric

locality that appears only in dreams. Place, again, is seen as passive, not offering any rescue or resource for those that were suffering on it. There were "no doors" in the rooms. The subject remember the place, as an accomplice in her suffering, an accomplice through passivity.

In summary the subjects, who described a positive experience with childhood place, interacted with that place in an optimal way. The men, for example, saw place as the loci for exploration and development. The women remember place as "one" that they could relate and connect. The man with negative memory of childhood place saw place as an extension of his own pain. The outside world was not an "other", the "over there" was the "over here" inside of himself. There was no connection with the place but emotional enmeshment with it.

The women, who had negative memory of childhood place, saw the place as a passive witness of their pain. The memory of place was the activator of their painful social experience in that place. Overall, the subjects' descriptions of childhood place could not be separated from their social experience.

This leads to the next topic in this analysis, the selected factors in adult memory that make a particular childhood place become the most important place in the subjects' lives, at least as recalled when interviewed.

Selected Factors of Childhood Place in Adult Memory

Interpersonal Relationship and the Memory of childhood Place

In remembering place, the subjects in this study described their experience with childhood place in a triadic way. That triad was typically in a transactional pattern. In one side of the triangle was the subject, on each other side of the triangle were place and social environment. The place, the social environment, and the self (subject) interacted with each other changing and being changed by those interactions. The residual image of childhood place and the child's family became imprinted with emotional feelings (positive or negative). For these subjects, to remember place is to remember their families. For example, one male subject with positive memory of childhood place, described that interrelationship as:

"When I remember that place the first thing that come to my mind is the figure of my father. He was the hero to me. At that time I thought that nothing was impossible for him. He was a hard worker, intelligent, or adventurer, a dreamer. He was always talking about better days. I remember sitting down outside of the house with him planing our future for long years. There, also was my mother, always cooking or washing clothes. I saw hope, love, discipline, and enjoyment in that place."

The family and the self appear in this description as the authors and actors in life. The memory of place could not be separated from the interaction with social environment.

Another man that also described himself as having a positive memory with place described his interpersonal relationship with people and place as:

"I lived in that place until I was 17 years. There are many factors that makes to remember that place so well. There was the place that I learned that basic moral principles that guide my life. There was something that was special for all of us kids in that place. It was my father. He traveled a lot and he was most of the time absent from home. When was time to him to come back, we, the children were excited and happy. We had great expectations because he always brought gifts for all of us. Sometimes he came at day other times at night. When he came at night we only noticed in the next morning. We always asked mommy: "Mommy, if dad come late at night, please put one of his shirt at the door of our room, because when we wake up early in the morning, we will know that dad is home."

Both male subjects identified their experiences with the family as the main factor that made these places become positively- charged emotionally. As can be noticed from their descriptions, there was an identification between the place remembered and the male figure, the father. The father emerged as the main character in their memory of place. He is the hero that was expected, the model to be imitated. The father was a

driven force guiding the child into the unknown future. The mother, as the place, became a figure holding everything together. She is there for the family. But it is the father who is the hero. Place and mother played the role of arranging and facilitating the relationship between the father and the child.

Women described factors that influenced their memories of childhood place in a different ways. One of them stated:

"This place came to play a very important part in my life when I was 9-10 years old and my parents separated. The sense of loss, loneliness and guilt brought me back many times, many times to the dunes. I sat there for hours, alone with my imaginary friend Toni. We would talk about everything and sometimes did not talk at all. That made me feel much better, give me the strength to continue. The stormy sea made me understand that it was okay to be angry, frustrated and different. That life was like the ocean, calm and beautiful and sometimes, revolt with dark waters, high strong waves that came and destroyed sand castles built along the beach. Nevertheless that place was there all the time that I needed it."

As in the men's descriptions above, there was a triadic relationship among the child, family and place in this women's example. However, there was a different dimension in this description of interrelationship between the child and place. There was an alliance between the subject and the place. The place was not only the loci for the experience, but also "one"

which the child could build a relationship. The place and the self were united, but not fused. The subject's social world was breaking down. Place (beach dunes) became a refuge for the child from her difficulties. Place, again, became a symbol of motherhood. It is a "secure base" and a source of "pleasure and comfort" when the child's world seemed confused and unpredictable. She had confidence that "it [the place] always will be there." In this description, place and self built a positive interaction that gave her courage and energy to act in the world and overcome the life's challenges. Place was seen as a "friend." A "friend" that never let you down. As the other woman, who had a positive memory of place stated: "This was the place that became the source of energy for me to keep my life going."

However, subjects who described their experience with childhood place as negative/unpleasant, childhood place was seen differently than those that had a positive experience with place. A male subject described the factors that marked that place as important in his life as:

"It was a place where we were humiliated by my uncle's family. They were always there saying that we were not good. That we were only trouble for the family. I have an image of this place as a collection of pictures. Each picture seems to represent each dark day that I lived there. As in an album of picture, in my mind I can move from image to image of my life in that place. However, none is so vivid as one in a sunny

Monday morning. I was hurrying all my siblings to get ready to go to school. We were all late. My brother (the oldest after me) was ironing his clothes. I was yelling with him. He tried to hurry, he pulled hard the iron wire that connected with the switch on the wall. I heard a scream and when I looked at floor my brother was there. I called him, he did not answer. I started to cry. I called my uncle, he did not believe on what I was telling him. When the next door neighbor came, he told me , "It is too late, your brother is dead". This was the childhood place that I remember the most. It is a sad place in my memory. Very sad. I can see the pain imprinted on each room. In the colors. In the flowers outside. The memory of this place is a memory of suffering."

The participant, in this description, saw place in a coalition with the social environment against him. There was the gray house with a "moody" uncle. The outside world was seen in confrontation with the self. The self is stuck in that place, with that people. Place and people were against the self. Place is also a witness to his own culpability in his brother's death, of his infliction of pain and death on those he loves.

However, women who described having a negative/unpleasant experiences with place, did not generalize their experiences as the male above did, where he saw the whole social world in union with place against him. For these women a central person

was selected in their memory. This figure took over the place and created a world of terror for them. One woman described that place as:

"There was nothing good when I remember that place. That was a place full of pain and fear. I remember my father coming late at night, throwing things at floor, trying to kill my mother. My mother crying, my brother trying to save her. When I think about that place, I feel bad. I think about my constant fear of the future. However, my mother and my older brother were always very kind and gave me a sense of security by their presence. There I had the most terrible "nightmare" that you can have in this life. There I saw the evil that a father, that you love so much, can become. I usually don't think about this place. My mind somehow manages to block a lot of that time. Because of what happened within those walls, I feel some kind of repulsion for that place. I do not feel that I'm connected at all with that place. However, that was the place of my childhood that I remember the most."

For this woman there was an identification between the evil and the "not good things" in that place. The subject remembers the place as the loci of emotional abuse and suffering. For this woman, there was a "locality" for suffering, and that was her childhood place. There was a silence from the place, nobody knows "what constantly happened within those walls."

The other woman who also had a negative experience with childhood place described the factors that made that place so vivid in her memory as:

"When I remember that place I can still see perfectly my grandfather's face. His hands trying to touch my breast. I can't explain, it is so painful. When I remember that place, I think that I can not go on with my life. I feel the need to get rid of these painful memories, which are of my grandfather trying to rape me. He affected so much my life. I remember myself talking with my grandmother about my grandfather's behavior. And she saying that I should not tell anyone. Nobody should know that he was abusing me. Many times I have these dreams, it is so horrifying. It is like every thing is happening over and over again, they both (grandparents) are in my dreams. Sometimes, in my dreams, I walk without touching the floor, as a spirit I walk in all the house rooms. I see myself there trying to yell, but I could not. I didn't have voice. I hardly miss anything about that place. The memory of that place brings me the worst memory of my life and I wish I could just erase it forever. That was the most terrifying place for me."

In summary, the subjects in this study identify their social relationship as the main factor when remembering specific childhood place as important in their lives. For men who had a positive experience with childhood place, it was the "hero," the father that emerged as the main character that

made that place so important. Women with a positive experience with place it was the place in itself that became alive and emerged as source of energy and strengths to go on in life. For men who had a negative experience with childhood place, it was the alliance between the social environment and the place against the self and his own failure, that imprinted deep marks in the child memory. For women, with a negative experience with childhood place, place was identified with the perpetrator. The abuser was the evil, and the place was the container of the evil. Place was a passive witness which permitted the suffering for the child. Overall, for these subjects, place placed the self in the world for good or for evil. "In place" the child became an individual.

Self-Identity and Place

For subjects participating in this study, it was almost impossible to separate who they are from their experience with childhood place, independent of whether place was seen as a positive or negative experience. Childhood place became the setting in which the self project itself to unfolding and mature. There -in that place- the self became who the individual is today. One male stated:

"I can't separate the place from my dreams. This was a place of dreaming. This was the place that we, as family, dreamed to be rich. My father dreamed to be a millionaire, and I dreamed to become a doctor. All our activities was around these dreams. That was a time that we never thought that

anything could block our dreams. The times were tough, but I felt so secure. I thought that I could achieved anything that I wanted. It was a place that I learned to love, that I learned to adventure and take risk. This place, I compare as a bed, where I slept and had a dream about life. This place symbolizes for me the roots of who I am. There, I learned to work; I learned to value freedom. That place provided the source where I could try out who I was to become in the coming years."

Another male subject stated:

"In that place I learned what is freedom. There was the place where I learned to be myself. That was a place that I felt free as birds that fly in the sky. Freedom from stereotype, freedom from schedule, freedom from social pressures. In that place, I learned to have faith, trust in human being and in God, be a hard worker, and don't give up when things are difficulty."

For these men, place was the cultural representation that was introjected by the self. They recognized that who they are today was built there. They looked back and saw, the place, not only as the container of cultural values, but also as "field" where they had the opportunity to experience the "life values." These values created a stability in their way of being in the world. In that place, they identified their dreams, their heros and role models for life.

However, this was not the experience that women reported having with childhood place. Even though they recognized that in that place they became a woman, they felt the need to go beyond that experience to achieve their full potential. One woman described the influence of place in her self identity as:

"In that place I had a sense of freedom, peace and calm that I did not have any other place. A sense of no beginning nor end as I looked far in the horizon. There was the water leading to other places and others opportunities."

Another women stated:

"In that place I felt secure. I knew that my parents love me and provided everything I needed. I did not have to worry about tomorrow, even if my alarm clock would go off I knew that next morning my mom will wake me up. My father was always there to set up the horse for me to go to school and take care of me. My parents made me feel I was the best. I learned from my father kindness and care, from my mother I learned dedication, availability and love. It was in this place that I see my self to become a woman. It was in that place that I prepared myself to handle the adulthood tasks and difficulties in life. However, there I learned, also, that I needed to overcome many difficulties, prejudices and gender discrimination. I was woman, and that make all the difference."

These women saw their childhood place as a starting point for a long journey. They saw place as a base that help them to built structures that guided them to success in life. The opposite happened which those who had a negative experience with place.

One male stated: "there I learned to survive. Only this." A woman with a negative experience with place stated:

"In that place I never was a child. I think that home is a place where you feel loved and secure, where everybody is happy smiling, playing, and mom and dad together with the children, and a lot of love for each other, with no fights. But that was not my childhood place. I never want to go back to that place. I want to erase it from my mind. That place is a bad memory after all. I really don't like to think about that place because I can't help thinking about what happened, what made it a not special place at all. It is just a bad memory that I will have forever and will influence in my life forever."

Another woman who was described having negative/unpleasant memory of childhood place stated:

"There was where I built my suffering. That place seems that will be forever with me."

For those subjects, who had a negative experience with childhood place, they remembered the place as source of terror and suffering. The memories became as an obsession. They want to "erase" that place from their life history, but it is

always there - a place to remember who they are, where they come from and where they are going.

In summary the immigrants' childhood place, in this investigation, was remembered as the base on which the self was built. Those who had a positive experience saw place as the loci of the culture values that was introjected and became part of their lives or as source of energy and connection. For those who had a negative experience, place was the arena where their beings were violated and hurt forever. However, for both groups childhood place was a vivid part of their memory of childhood. Those physical places became ontological places in their adulthood.

Ontological Places

The childhood place on time became ontological place. The place became part of the self. The self and the place had changed each other. In adulthood that place is more than just a memory, it is the ontological landscape in which the self moves and remember the past. One male subject stated:

"The house does not exist anymore, the landscape changed, but in my memory I carry the images of that place. That was my home. I still talk saying "in my house" referring to my childhood place. My home seems to be in my mind. I know that that place does not exist anymore. But it is here, inside of my mind. I can not live anymore there, but the place still lives inside of me. It is a place that I visit constantly in my memory. It gives me energy to achieve my goals, and find

meaning in my life. That place is my "cave." There, I take refuge when the life is too tough. I dream every week, sometimes everyday, about that place. It is a place of my dreams forever!"

A women who had positive experience with childhood place said: "That was the place that gave me hope when I had none. Today I carry that place inside of me. When I am under stress, when the things seems impossible for me, I close my eyes, and I travel back in time. There is the beach! There is the sand! There is the waves! And there is my imaginary friend Toni. The place still a source of energy and hope for me."

As woman stated who had a negative experience stated:

"That was a house but not a home. I feel that home is a place where you feel calm, in peace, and have security. It is to be able to relax and not be afraid. The yellow house at the dark street, in dark city, with dark widows, was a house of terror for me as a child. I never wish to see that place again. I know that that place is not there any more, but it still real in my mind. It is a symbol of unsafe and fear. That was a place where I did not learn anything that could help me in life. That place is a memory of pain."

The ontological dimension of childhood place is independent of whether the place experience was positive or negative. There is a relationship between the ontological dimension of becoming a person and the internalization of images from the physical landscape that become imprinted in

the child memory forever. For participants in this study, it seems that there was a deletion (i.e., complete forgetting) of days, months and years in their memories of childhood place. The images accessible for retrieval from memory were collected together, forming a coherent story in the adult autobiographic memory.

Remembering Childhood Place in a Foreign Land.

As noted above women and men tend remembered childhood place experiences in different ways. These subjects left their childhood place, left their country and today they live in a different land. Reflecting about childhood place in relationship to the immigrated place, a male subjected stated:

"I miss that place. What "saudade!" I have. It is like a nostalgia, a deep feeling to go back home. Here, in the USA, I am like being in exile. I look at the world around me, it is beautiful. However, I don't belong here. I don't connect with this place. I have a house, I have a better living here than my childhood place where I grew up. But, here is not my home. I look around, everything is wonderful but inside of myself. I have this voice in my mind calling me back. I pray to God everyday saying: "God don't let me die before I go back to my homeland."

There is a profound feeling of loneliness in this description. The subject not only lost his niche, but he can not find a place where he belongs. He became homeless in his new home. He lives in a place, but there is no connection

between himself and the new place. There is a complete alienation of self and place. Home (place) is there far way from here. The rootlessness and lack of belonging drive him nostalgically long for his homeland. The other male subject stated:

"The unique factor that holds me here is economic. I plan to stabilize my economic life and go back to Brazil. You know that this is not our place. You just do not belong here. In our country, the people care about you. They do not have money, they are poor, but they are full of love. America is a dream that I had. I fulfilled my dream. I have lived here for 5 years. I need to go back home."

For these subjects home is there (in Brazil). Here is just a place to fulfill economic needs. They have failed to create new connections and to emotionally to adapt in the new place. However, the women that remembered positively their childhood place saw the new habitat in different way. One woman stated:

"Two years ago I went to the same place (the beach) for few times for different reasons, but it affects me always. I loved that place. But I don't plan to go back to live there. I love America. This country gave me the opportunity to study. The opportunity to be someone. That place was a refuge. America was the nursery where I grew and became fully developed. I love here, because here I am a free woman."

The other woman stated:

"I miss that place. But I don't want to go back. I think that place gave me what I needed at that time. Here I have my husband and my children. Here I learned to drive, I finished college and a Master degree. Here is my home. That place is a mirage in the past. I am happy where I am."

These women who remember having positive/pleasant childhood experiences, here in the USA, they are also having a good sense of connection and an optimal experience with the immigrated place. They are connected with the community, with people and feel at home. While the males who reported positive/pleasant memory of childhood place failed to build this kind of relationship with the immigrated place. These women described the immigrated place as a source for their self-development. The man's ontological place places them there - in Brazil. The women's ontological place is seen as a source helping them to build new relationships and connect with the new world in which they are living. The same happened for those who had a negative experience with childhood place. The man stated:

"That place was a nightmare to me. I don't want to go back never more. Sometimes I miss Brazil. But I think this country rescued me from my misery. This is my place. I love this place because here I have a job, I have the things I never dreamed about. This is my home, I will be living here for a long time."

A woman who had a negative experience with her childhood place stated:

"When I remember that place it shakes my nerves, makes me feel like crying. Makes me feel weak, trembling and angry. That place was full of suffering, pain, and fear. That was a place where I never had hope for a better future. Today, I am a mature women, I can understand the scars on my soul. I came to America, here I had the opportunity to go to college and graduate. I love here and don't plan to go back to Brazil."

Another woman stated:

"When, here in America I remember that place, it makes me sad, because I feel like I can't get it out from my memory. When I have the opportunity to forget it I feel relieved. I am 25 years old, and I am living here for 6 years. It was the best thing that happened in my life. This country gave me the opportunity to overcome my difficulties. I am glad that I don't need to go back. I love here and I am planing to stay here as long I live."

Overall, these statements show that males who had positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place have a strong nostalgia and longing to return to the homeland. Women who had a positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place as well as those subjects who had a negative experience with childhood place, remembered that place as a mark in their development. They feel connected with the immigrated place and do not long to return to the homeland.

The common theme in these descriptions of childhood place was affection (negative or positive) to place emerged not only when the child felt a sense of belonging, security, freedom, rootless, opportunity, friendship, love, caring, happiness, peace, calm, certainty and predictability, but also when the child felt suffering, separation, grief, emotional and physical abuse, domestic violence, and unpredictability in the social environment. Overall, childhood place was seen as a container of child experience that contributes powerfully to inner well-being of the child. The memory of childhood place in adult memory was expressions of the inner emotional landscape that was developed as the child became a mature human being.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The aim of the present research was to investigate the psychological influence of childhood place for men and women that lived their childhood and adolescence in Brazil, and immigrated to USA after age of 18 years old. This investigation was set out to explore the interaction between memory of a specific place in childhood and the emotional meaning in the adulthood.

The key questions investigated in this study were does memory of childhood places influence Brazilian immigrants' sense of well-being in the USA; does memory of childhood places influence the immigrant's longing to return to homeland; is there a gender difference in the attachment to place and the sense of well being in the USA; and is there a relationship between feelings (i.e., positive/pleasant feelings or negative/unpleasant feelings) about childhood place and self-esteem.

The material for this study was direct human experiences, recounted in the individual's own words, perspectives and evaluations. The methodology adopted was a combination of quantitative data collected through questionnaires and qualitative data collected in the form of narratives through interview with Brazilian immigrants about their experience

with childhood place. The structured questions followed an established procedure in order to measure identification, attachment and alienation from socio-cultural institutions in the USA as well as the immigrant's experience with childhood place. The mix of open-ended questions with rating measures allowed the quantification of findings and at the same time offered insights into ways in which individual experiences with childhood place and the immigrant's current sense of well-being in the USA might be related.

The focus of this study was on the meaning of childhood place memory in the adult life of immigrants. It was used a transactional approach in order to analyze the relation between the childhood place and the participant. The transactional perspective afforded an in-depth appreciation of the immigrant's entire experience including the physical landscape, social, religious, political, cultural, and educational experience. Places were considered as dynamic entities that interacted with the subject's emotional and cognitive development. These childhood places with time became ontological places and an important part in the adult's autobiography memory.

5.1 Memory of Childhood Place and the Sense of Well-Being

The first question in this investigation was whether the memory of childhood place, whether positive or negative, influenced the immigrant's sense of well-being in the USA. The results of this study did not support the hypothesis. There

was no significant difference between Brazilian immigrants who had positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place and those who had negative/unpleasant feelings about childhood place and their sense of well-being in the USA.

In order to answered the question above, genders differences in the sense of well-being in the USA were also examined. The results from this investigation did not support the hypothesis that women would have a higher sense of well-being in the USA. However, the results did show that women had a more negative memory of childhood place than men as measure by SCM rating. When men and women who had a negative memory about their childhood place were compared there was no significant difference in their experiences with childhood place as rated by SCM scale. However, when men, who had a positive/pleasant memory of childhood place were compared with women who had a positive/pleasant memory of childhood place, there was a significant difference in the SCM rating scores. Males tended to experience childhood place in a more positive way than females, but there was not a significant difference in their sense of well-being in the USA between both groups as measured by WBQ. The relationship between an immigrants's memory of childhood place and their sense of well-being in the USA did not have a relationship with current self-esteem. The results of this investigation did not support the hypothesis that there was a significant difference in self-esteem among those immigrants that had a positive experience with childhood

place and also had a positive sense of well-being in the USA; immigrants who had positive experience childhood place but had a more negative sense of well-being in the USA; immigrants who had a negative memory of childhood place but had a high sense of well-being in the USA; and those immigrants who had a negative experience with childhood place and also had a negative sense of well-being in the USA. There was no a significant difference among the four groups on self-esteem.

Overall, the results of this investigation did not support the hypothesis that memory of childhood place influences the immigrants' sense of well-being or their self-esteem in USA. However, the results show that there was a gender difference in experiencing childhood place in this sample of Brazilian immigrants. Men remember childhood place in a more positive way than women, but there was no gender difference in the immigrant's sense of well-being in the USA. However, there was a significant negative correlation between women's longing to return to homeland and their well-being in the USA.

5.2 Memory of Childhood Place and the Longing to Return to Homeland

The second question in this investigation was whether memory of childhood place influences the immigrant's longing to return to homeland. The results from this study showed that there was a modest but significant positive correlation between a positive/pleasant memory of childhood place and the

immigrant's longing to return to homeland. However, no correlation was found between those who had a negative/unpleasant experience with childhood place and their longing to return to homeland.

The second step in this investigation was giving an opportunity to a group of immigrants to describe, in form of narrative, their experiences with childhood place. The focus was on obtaining insights about their experience with childhood place and their current sense of well-being in USA. The themes emerged from this investigation were organized in three clusters: (1) the loci of childhood place (i.e., place description and the factors that made that place important in the immigrant's childhood); (2) remembering childhood places in a foreign land (i.e., the childhood place's current influence in the immigrants' identity and emotional stability); and (3) differentiating the experience with place, there (Brazil) and here (USA) and their longing to return to homeland.

5.3 The "Loci" of Childhood Place

A cross-case analysis of subjects' narratives about their experiences with childhood place demonstrated that men who were classified as having positive/pleasant feelings about their childhood remembered their childhood places as the locale that gave them an opportunity to explore and fulfill the family's economic needs. Place was seen as the loci that contained the cultural structures and values that will be

transmitted to the next generation. In their descriptions there was a sense of continuity of the society's status quo, where the father had the responsibility to transmit to son the cultural values that were supposed to guide the child in the coming future.

Women, who were classified as having a positive/pleasant feelings about childhood places, saw place in different dimensions than males that were in the same classification. Place was seen as a refuge from their troubles. Place was not something to be explored or changed, but "one" that they could connect with and have a relationship with. Place was described as a source of enjoyment. There was not a sense of ownership. Place, for these women, was a refuge and at the same time a center of energy for life.

For the men who was classified as having negative/unpleasant feelings about childhood place, place was a container that created the boundaries for his pain and suffering. Place was seen as hostile, not because it is hostile in itself, but because the subject saw himself as a "prisoner" in it. He saw the world outside of himself as an extension of his own pain. The world outside of themselves was not an "other," place was exactly what was the "over here," inside of himself. There was not a connection with place but enmeshment.

Women, who were classified as having negative/unpleasant feelings about place, saw childhood place as a passive witness

of their own pain. The memory of place was just the activator of their memory of the painful social experience in that place. They saw place as a frozen object contemplating them being hurt and abused. Place appeared as a passive accomplice in their abusive experience.

5.4 Factors of Childhood Place in Adult Memory

Interpersonal Relationships

Men participants who were classified as having a positive/pleasant experience with childhood place described their family as the main factor in remembering place and influencing their views about that place. For these participants there was an identification between the place and the primary male figure in their lives - the father. The father emerged as the main character in their memory of place. In their description the mother appeared as essential figure holding everything together, but the father was the guardian and the role model to be imitated. The mother and the place were secondary in their descriptions; they were there to serve and fulfill the family's needs.

For women, who were classified as having a positive/pleasant experience with childhood place, place was not only the loci for their experience, but also the "one" with whom they could build connection and a relationship. The place and the self were united but not fused. The main theme in their remembering childhood place was that of "secure base" or a "source of pleasure." Place, for these women, was a

symbol of motherhood. The self interacted with place. The interactive relationship was introjected and became part of women's internal resources for coping with difficulties in life.

For participants, who (males and females) were classified as having negative/unpleasant feelings with childhood place the trauma or abuse was the main factor that influenced their memory of that place. For these immigrants, remembering place brought back memories of pain and suffering. For them, memory of place and memory of the abuser or trauma were not differentiated.

Self-Identity and Childhood Place

For male participants classified as having positive/pleasant feelings about childhood place, place was cultural representation of values that were introjected by the self. Who they are today was built there - in the childhood place. Place was seen as the cultural values' container. Place was the "field" where they had the opportunity to experience these values. In the childhood place they identified their dreams, heros, and role models for life.

Women classified as having a positive/pleasant memory of childhood place recognized that in that place they became women, however they felt the need to go beyond that experience to achieve their full potentiality in life. They saw their childhood place as a starting point in their long journey to womanhood. They saw place as a foundation that helped them in

building structures that guided them in life. However, these women were not stagnated in time. According to their descriptions, it appeared that place is a "creation" that needs to be done in each phase of life.

Men and women having negative experience with childhood place saw the necessity of going beyond their experience with that place. They felt the childhood place was the activator of "bad" memories. Memory of childhood place was still a "obsession" in their thoughts. They wanted to "erase" it, but "it is always there." The childhood place played an important part in their current emotional stability. They identified their current psychological distress as rooted and grounded in the childhood place.

5.5 Ontological Places

Childhood place became ontological place. For Brazilian immigrants, place is part of their autobiographical memory. The self and the place have changed each other. For them, as an adult, place was more than just a memory. Place is the ontological landscape where the self moves in time. The ontological dimension of childhood place was independent of gender or whether the experience was positive or negative.

5.6 Remembering Childhood Place in a Foreign Land

Men who described themselves as having a positive experience with childhood place remembered childhood place with great nostalgia. They felt alienated from their current social milieu. They felt as homeless in their own new home.

There was a rootlessness and lack of identity with the immigrated place. The factor holding these immigrants in the USA is economic. For these participants home is "there." They failed to create new connections and emotionally adapt in the new place. This group of subjects wanted desperately to go back to their homeland.

Men who had negative/unpleasant feelings about place and women who had positive or negative feelings about childhood place, remembered childhood place as a mark (positive or negative) in their development. They saw themselves separated from that place. They felt more connected with the immigrated place and had no desire to return to their homeland.

5.7 General Discussion

The results of these study did not support the hypothesis that memory of childhood place has an influence on the immigrants's current sense of well-being or their self-esteem. However, this investigation did support the theory that in this sample of Brazilian immigrants to the USA, men experienced childhood place differently than women. According to findings in this study, males have more positive memory of childhood place and a greater desire to return to homeland than females. Also, the immigrants' narrative experience with place supported the hypothesis that these men and women experienced place differently.

According to Proshansky (1978) place identity is "an important part of the individual's self identity and reflects

his or her unique socialization experience in the physical world..." (p. 155). Csiksentmihalyi et al. (1981) found that there is gender difference in attaching meaning to domestic things. Chawla (1994) interviewing five contemporaneous poets (three male and two female poets) found that the male poets felt more detached from memory of childhood place than female poets. Also, she found that women have conserved early memories of childhood place better than men. She found that for men, childhood memory faced either of two fates. It can be detached from adult concerns; or, if early memory is conserved, it can be kept at a distance and diminished by the power of reason. Chawla also found that woman poets were more connected with memories of childhood place. In this investigation with Brazilian immigrants, it was found that women who had a positive experience with childhood place had a depth sense of transcendence and spirituality in their relationship with childhood place. Males felt that place was important in their development, but they saw place as an entity that contains the cultural values or as a resource for economic exploration.

Also, the data supported the idea that women, independent of their experience, saw childhood place influencing their lives, but they felt disengaged from that place. The immigrated place gave them opportunity for liberation and a great sense of achievement in their lives. The immigrated place became a symbol of liberation from gender discrimination

and opportunity to make the best of their lives. They made of the new place (USA) their "home."

Doreen Massey (1994) in her book, Space, place, and time, states that:

A large component of the identity of that place called home derived precisely from the fact that it had always in one way or another been open; constructed out of movement, communication, social relations which always stretched beyond it. In one sense or another most places have been 'meeting places'; even their 'original inhabitants' usually came from somewhere else. This does not mean that the past is irrelevant to the identity of place. This does mean that there is no internally produced, essential past. The identity of place, ... is always and continuously being produced. Instead of looking back with nostalgia to some identity of place which it assumed already exists, the past has to be constructed. (pp. 170, 171)

Bell Hooks (1991), in her book Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics, states that:

our struggle is also a struggle of memory against forgetting. ... A politicization of memory that distinguishes nostalgia, that longing for something to be as once it was, a kind of useless act, from that remembering that serves to illuminate and transform the present. (p. 147)

For these Brazilian women in this study the immigrated place is an opportunity to overcome alienation and estrangement in their lives. To have an opportunity to immigrate for the USA became an historical task for those oppressed women. As Paulo Freire stated, "the oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves" (p. 28). The opportunity to go beyond the boundaries of oppression gave for these Brazilian women the possibility to free themselves from a cultural stereotyped role that they were living in their homeland. As Paulo Freire states: "Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both (i.e., the oppressed and the oppressor)" (p. 28).

The Brazilian women in this study did not deny the importance of their childhood place. Their view of place and home changed, as Bell Hooks states:

Home is no longer just one place. It is locations. Home is that place which enables and promotes varied and ever changing perspectives, a place where one discovers new ways of seeing reality, frontiers of difference. One confronts and accepts dispersal and fragmentation as part of the constructions of a new world order that reveals more fully where we are, who we can become... (p. 148).

The new "home," the new "place" becomes a "holding environment" that gives the opportunity for these participants to reorganize their internal resources and use them for self-development. For these Brazilian women, as Gillian Rose (1993), in her book Feminism & Geography put, the new place becomes the "mothering structure" (p. 57), which provides the "secure base" where they can be the most of their being.

5.8 Limitations of the Study

Even though this study had a large sample, generalization from the above findings are limited due to sample selection procedure. The Snowball or Chain Sampling Method used in selecting a sample for this investigation is somewhat limited by subject self-selection, since Brazilian immigrants who were more interested in talking about their experience with childhood place may have been more likely to have participated in this study than those not interested in doing so.

A second limitation in this investigation's findings was in the methodology and instruments used in collecting data. There is no accepted and tested method to investigate attachment to place in the literature by which the results above mentioned could be compared. Different disciplines use different methodologies which may result in contradictory findings. In this investigation a combination of quantitative and qualitative data was used. The use of a of autobiographical memory recall with a rating scale has been challenged by Rivlin (1978) who argues that the adult rating

of memory of feelings about childhood place may not be consistent with the reality lived by the child in that time and place. Chawla (1992) and Marcus (1992), however have applied autobiography narrative as valid method in their research. In addition the WBQ may have not tap essential elements of the immigrant's well-being. The Well-Being Questionnaire was developed and used with an American born population. It may not be valid with an immigrant population. It may be necessary to develop a well-being measure specifically for this population. Another difficulty in this investigation was measuring the immigrants' longing to return to homeland. There is no standardized instrument in the literature that measures the immigrant's longing to return to their homeland. The ILFHM was developed specifically for this investigation, however, the psychometric properties of this instrument are unknown.

A third limitation of this study was the impossibility of considering immigrants' socio-economic-status (SES) before immigrating to USA and their SES in the new immigrated place due to Brazil and USA's discrepancy in defining social class (i.e., a person who belongs to middle class in Brazil could be considered as belonging to the low class in the USA). For example, immigrants who had higher education or had a "good" job in Brazil, but in this country are working in manual labor jobs, or have difficulty connecting with the same social class, may have a greater desire to return to homeland than

other immigrants who maintained or rose in their social status.

A fourth limitation in investigation was the difficulty separating immigrants who immigrated from cities and those who immigrate from rural areas. Immigrants who lived in rural areas in Brazil and now are living in an American city could have less sense of belonging in the immigrated place than those who had lived in a Brazilian city before immigrating to the USA.

5.9 Implications for Further Research

What are the implications of these data for alternative views of theory of attachment to place?

Taken together, the data from this study and those mentioned above suggested that further work needs to be carried out to discern the internal and external validity of the methods used to assess the possible influences and understanding of attachment to childhood place on the adults. Further work may well benefit from longitudinal designs in which a range of factors, like the extent and the nature of immigrants' descriptions of their childhood place memory before immigration and how their views about childhood place change through experiencing the immigrated place. Obviously, it would be elegant to distinguish between the physical landscape and immigrant social milieu. For example, immigrants who have a large number of relatives in the immigrated place could have less longing to return to

homeland. Yet these factors are hard to tease apart from one another, and longitudinal data could help in discerning causal relation between nostalgia (Greek word: Nestos means "a return home") and memories of childhood place. The current literature seems to support the claim that memory of childhood influences multiple aspects of adulthood (Chawla, 1992; Marcus, 1992). Perhaps more sizable samples are needed to show the effect, or perhaps the specific influences of social economic class, education, opportunity to travel and memory of childhood place in adulthood should be investigated. Another aspect that needs more investigation is gender role changes and family dynamics in the new immigrated place and memory of childhood place. As the data above suggested women in the USA felt more free and able to achieve their goals than in Brazil. Do gender role changes influence the way Brazilian males feel in this country? It, also, would be advisable to replicate this study with other immigrant populations taking in consideration gender and social class. However the biggest challenge in studying immigrants and their well-being and longing to return to homeland is the development of reliable, cultural sensitive, and psychometric instruments that could measure immigrant's essential elements in those variables. Although, these are topics that need further investigation, the data presented in this investigation show consistent influences of memory of childhood place upon the Brazilian immigrant's self-development.

APPENDIX A

IMMIGRANT'S NARRATIVES ABOUT MEMORIES OF CHILDHOOD PLACES

THE PAST:

1. "It was a small farm, where my family lived at that time."
2. "There I learned the basic principles of being a farmer."
3. "I can't separate the place from my dreams. That was a place of dreaming."
4. "This was the place that we, as the family, dreamed to be rich."
5. "That was a time that we never thought that anything could block our dreams."
6. "It was a place that I learned to love, that I learned to adventure and take risk."
7. "That place, I compare as a 'bed,' where I slept and had a dream about life."

THE PRESENT:

1. "It still alive in my memory. I can see the brown land, the green grass on the field."
2. "I have a clear image of it. I can visualize the small road to the well, the river, the house, my room. Everything is o alive in my mind when I think about that place."
3. "This place symbolizes for me the roots of who I am."
4. "In this place I learned to work; I learned to value freedom."
5. "That place provided the source where I could try out who I was to become in the coming years."
6. "I miss that place."
7. "Here, in the USA, I am like being in exile... I don't belong here."

THE FUTURE:

1. "I have a better living here than my childhood place where I grow up. But, here is not my home."
2. "It is like a nostalgia, a deep feeling to go back home."
3. "I still refer to that place as my home."
4. "I have this voice in my mind calling me back. I pray to God every day saying: 'God don't let me die before I go back to my homeland.'"
5. "I will return to my homeland."

APPENDIX B

A MEASUREMENT OF BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANT FEELINGS OF WELL-BEING IN USA

Sociodemographic Information

Interview N#: Gender: Education:
Country of Origin: Years in USA:
Religion: Immigration Age:
Current Date:

This is a questionnaire on how you feel about your life in United States. It is a long questionnaire and it will take a long time to fill it out. When you start, work at your own pace, but as fast as you can comfortably can. Answer all the question as well you can. Your answer in this questionnaire is completely confidential.

Your job is marking with a X the answer that best describes your feelings at this time. There is not a correct or wrong answer, any answer is acceptable. For example, if you choose to mark (x) 1= Terrible, this mean that you are feeling terrible about that specific issue that has being questioned. You have seven choices for each question, but choose just one. The answers are as follow:

- () 1= Terrible
- () 2= Unhappy
- () 3= Mostly dissatisfied
- () 4= Mixed
- () 5= Mostly satisfied
- () 6= Pleased
- () 7= Delighted

THE NATION

1. How do you feel about: The life in the Unites States?
2. How do you fell about: How the United States stands in the eyes of the rest of the world?
3. How do your feel about: The way young people in this country are thinking and acting?
4. How do you feel about: The way people over forty in this country are thinking and acting?
5. How do you feel about: The information you get from newspapers, magazines, TV, and radio?

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1. How do you feel about: The way the national government is doing?
2. How do you feel about: The national military activities?
3. How do you feel about: The way the political leaders think and act?
4. How do you feel about: The way the police and courts in county are operating?
5. How do you feel about: Your participation in the political system?

ECONOMIC SITUATION

1. How do you feel about: What the government is doing about the economy - jobs, prices, profits?
2. How do you feel about: The taxes you pay - local, state, and national taxes all together?
3. How do you feel about: What you have to pay for basic necessities such as food, housing, and clothing?
4. How do you feel about: The income you (and your family) have?
5. How do you feel about: The pay and fringe benefits you get, and the security of your job?
6. How do you feel about: Your financial security?
7. How do you feel about: Your standard of living - the things you have like housing, car, furniture, recreation, and the like?
8. How do you feel about: Your economic situation in this country in comparison to your homeland?

COMMUNITY

1. How do you feel about: This community as a place to live?
2. How do you feel about: People who live in this community?

3. How do you feel about: Opportunities to participate in political and administration decision in your community?

4. How do you feel about: Neighborhood organizations or groups in your community that you or your family belongs?

5. How do you feel about: The church, club or any leisure organization that you or your family belongs?

SERVICES AND FACILITIES

1. How do you feel about: The doctors, clinics, and hospital you would use in this area?

2. How do you feel about: The services you get in this neighborhood - like garbage collection, street maintenance, fire and police protection?

3. How do you feel about: The goods and services you can get when you buy in this area - things like food, appliances, clothes?

4. How do you feel about: The services you can get when you have to have someone come in to fix things around your home - like painting, repairs?

5. How do you feel about: The means of transportation and facilities to move from one place to another?

EDUCATION

If you don't have children in the school age ignore this secession and go to the next one (Job).

1. How do you feel about: The school in this area?

2. How do you feel about: Your participation in the educational system - (e.g., PTA)?

3. How do you feel about: The relationship between the public school system and the parents?

4. How do you feel about: Transportation and food offered in the public school?

5. How do you feel about: The usefulness, for you personally, of your education?

JOB

If you are not working ignore this secession and answer the next one (Neighborhood).

1. How do you feel about: Your job?
2. How do you feel about: The people you work with - your coworkers?
2. How do you feel about: The work you do on the job - the work itself?
3. How do you feel about: What you have available for doing your job - I mean equipment, information, good supervision and so on?
4. How do you feel about: What it is like where you work - the physical surroundings, the hours, and the amount of work you are asked to do?
5. How do you feel about: The pay and fringe benefits you get, and the security of your job?

NEIGHBORHOOD

1. How do you feel about: This particular neighborhood as a place to live?
2. How do you feel about: The people who live in the house/apartments near yours?
3. How do you feel about: The way you can get around to work, schools, shopping, etc.?
4. How do you feel about: How neat, tidy, and clean things are around you?
5. How do you feel about: How safe you feel in this neighborhood?
6. How do you feel about: How secure you are from people who might steal or destroy your property?
7. How do you feel about: Your interaction with neighborhood - such talk, informal together in their home or your home, dinner or party together?

FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES

1. How do you feel about: Yours friends?

2. How do you feel about: The things you do and the times you have with your friends?

3. How do you feel about: The people you see socially?

4. How do you feel about: The change you have to know people with whom you can really feel comfortable?

5. How do you feel about: Your friendship with people born in USA?

HOME

1. How do you feel about: Your house/apartment?

2. How do you feel about: The outdoor space there is for you to use outside your home?

3. How do you feel about: The privacy you have - being alone when you want to be?

4. How do you feel about: Your housework - the work you need to do around your home?

PLACE

1. How do you feel about: The physical landscape where you are living?

2. How do you feel about: The place's beauty, and aesthetic characteristics?

3. How do you feel about: The place's smell?

4. How do you feel about: The historical meaning of this place for you and your family?

5. How do you feel about: The connection and interaction between you and the geographic place?

SEASONAL CHANGES

1. How do you feel about: The weather in this part of the state?

2. How do you feel about: The conditions of the natural environment - the air, land, and water in this area?

3. How do you feel about: The difference in seasons - Winter, Summer, Fall and Spring?

FOOD

1. How do you feel about: American food?
2. How do you feel about: Amount of variety of foods and products in supermarket?
3. How do you feel about: Restaurant's food flavor?
4. How do you feel about: Time to eat meals in American culture?

LEISURE AND LEISURE-TIMES FACILITIES

1. How do you feel about: The way you spend your spare time, your non working activities?
2. How do you feel about: The amount of free time that you have?
3. How do you feel about: The amount of time you have for doing the things you want to do?
4. How do you feel about: Outdoor places you can go in your spare time?
5. How do you feel about: The sports or recreation facilities you yourself use, or would like to use - things like parks, bowling alleys, beaches?
6. How do you feel about: Nearby places you can use for recreation or sports?
7. How do you feel about: Your chances for relaxation - even for a short time?

FAMILY

1. How do you feel about: Your children/parents or both?
2. How do you feel about: Your own family life?
3. How do you feel about: The responsibilities you have for members of your family?
4. How do you feel about: The numbers of relatives that immigrated and live close to you?

SELF

1. How do you feel about: Yourself?

2. How do you feel about: What you are accomplishing in your life?
3. How do you feel about: The extend to which you are achieving success and getting ahead in this country?
4. How do you feel about: Your opportunity to change things around you that you don't like?
5. How do you feel about: Your chance of getting a good job if you want looking for one?
6. How do you feel about: Racism and the immigrant?
7. How do you feel about: Work and discrimination in your work place?
8. How do you feel about: The extend to which your physical needs are met?
9. How do you feel about: Your own health and physical condition?
10. How do you feel about: The sleep you get?
11. How do you feel about: The amount of physical work and exercise in your life?
12. How do you feel about: Your sex life?
13. How do you feel about: The fun you are having?
14. How do you feel about: How interesting your day-to-day life is?
15. How do you feel about: The extent to which you are developing yourself and broadening your life?
16. How do you feel about: How happy are you?
17. How do you feel about: The change you have to enjoy pleasant or beautiful things?
18. How do you feel about: The amount of beauty and attractiveness in your world?
19. How do you feel about: Your independence or freedom - the chance you have to do what you want?
20. How do you feel about: Your religious faith?

21. How do you feel about: The way you handle the Problems that come up in your life?

22. How do you feel about: The extent to which you can adjust to changes in your life?

23. How do you feel about: The extent to which you are tough and can take it?

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

1. How do you feel about: How sincere and honest other people are?

2. How do you feel about: How sincere and honest you are?

3. How do you feel about: The American born treat you?

4. How do you feel about: How much you are accepted and included by others?

5. How do you feel about: The amount of respect you get from others?

6. How do you feel about: How much you are admired or respected by other people?

7. How do you feel about: How fairly you get treated?

8. How do you feel about: The respect other people have for your rights?

9. How do you feel about: Things you do to help people or groups in this community?

10. How do you feel about: How much you are contributing to other people lives?

11. How do you feel about: The reliability of the people you depend on?

APPENDIX C

THE PLACE EXPERIENCE RECALL

Interview N#:

Current Date:

Locality:

I am trying to find out more about how people make sense of their personal experiences with place. Anything said remains confidential and anonymous. The information given by you, will be used only for research project proposed. Name or personal information that could identify you will be not used. You are free to stop the interview at anytime.

In what follows I will ask you to try and use your memory as best as you can. Relax and try to empty you mind. Take a deep breath. Hold it. Let it goes (repeat the breathing and the relaxation suggestion three times). You may close your eyes or may leave them open. Feel relaxed and at ease.

A. I would like you to think back to some earlier times in your life (age between 6-15) and recall some specific places that you have lived in your childhood in Brazil. This could be a place where you had a positive or negative experience (take 1 or 2 minutes of silence to the person to create the place image).

B. Now pick one of those places to remember in greater detail.

C. Once you have selected the place, describe in form of narrative as fully as you can the place you remembered. Please try to include:

- * How that place did look like;
- * How that place did smell;
- * What led up to this place experienced.
- * What you did and what other did;
- * What you were in general thinking and feeling in that place;
- * What specific conditions or events in that place made you respond as you did;

D. Once you have describe the place, respond as best as you can to the following questions:

1. What do you find satisfying or dissatisfying about the ways you think, feel and act in such places?

2. For you, as immigrant, what are the influences of your memories of childhood places in your present living and well-being?

3. Do you constantly remember that place?

4. Do you long for that place?

5. Are these memories a source for longing to return to your homeland?

6. Do you feel like to go back "home"? If yes, what are the factors that make you to long to go back? If not, what are the factors that make you to consider the immigrated place your "home"?

7. What is for you to feel at "home"? What is a home in your opinion?

8. If you are planing to return to your homeland, when do you plan to go?

9. How do you feel about the new country and new place where you are living? (Describe positive and negative feelings).

10. Do you feel attached to the new place? If yes or not, describe the factors that influence your feelings about the immigrated place?

11. Describe anything you have tried to do to modify your thoughts and our feelings in order to change your way of responding in the new place. Please try to describe how your efforts affects or has affected your typical response to place.

12. Do you have any ideas about ways you might try to modify any of your thoughts or feelings in order to change your way of responding to the new place?

13. Where do you see yourself living, 10,15, 20 years from now? Please try to describe the place that you dream to live, including what are the similarities and differences from your childhood and immigrated place.

E. The next questions are intended to guide you in reviewing one or more experience or aspects of your life which may have been of great importance to you in the place that you recalled as very important in your development. This is a summary of the 13 questions that you answered.

1. Is there been anything of major significance in that place that happen in your past life which still continuous to exert a strong influence on you? (Please describe).

2. Was there in the past any person or persons, experience or circumstance which greatly influenced your

living in that place and still appreciably affects your present existence? (Please describe).

D. Based on your place experience recall rate your own statements in the following feelings that you remember to experience in that place. Mark with a (x) the answer that described the best your emotional experience in the place that you just finish to talk about. The answers are as follow:

1. JOY

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

2. SELF-ESTEEM

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

3. HAPPINESS

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

4. WORRY

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

5. STRENGTH

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

6. ENJOYMENT

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

7. CARING

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

8. LOVE

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

9. UNHAPPINESS

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

10. TENDERNESS

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

11. SELF-CONFIDENCE

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

12. INTIMACY

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

13. DESPONDENCY

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

14. PRIDE

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

15. DISAPPOINTMENT

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

16. INNER CALM

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

APPENDIX D

IMMIGRANT'S LONGING FOR HOMELAND MEASURE (LLFHM)

Interview N#:

Current Date:

Locality:

Based on your experience in this country rate your current feelings about your homeland. Mark with a (x) the answer that described the best the way you feel about you homeland. The answers are as follow:

1. Do you think about you homeland?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

2. Do you read newspaper, magazines, or watch TV programs or listen music that talk about your homeland?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

3. Do you follow the political developments of your country?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

4. Do you read and keep yourself informed about the economic situation of your country?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

5. Do you keep yourself in contact with the community where you came from in Brazil?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

6. If you had the same economic opportunity in your homeland that you have in USA, would you go back to your country?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

7. Did you have more friends and associates in Brazil than you have in your current living place?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

8. Do you feel that your "home" is in Brazil?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

9. When you think about the physical place that you lived in Brazil, do you wish to go back to the same place?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

10. Do you maintain your identity as a Brazilian in this country and feel proud of it?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

11. Would you feel happy to leave this country and go back to your homeland?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

12. In the future do you plan to go back to live in your country?

() 0= Not at all, () 1= A little bit, () 2= To some extent, () 3= Rather much, () 4= Much () 5= Very much

Please answer the two following questions:

13. What is the main factor that keep you in this country?.....
.....

14. If you plan to go back, what is the main factor that
motivate you to return to your
homeland?
.
.

APPENDIX E

ROSENBERG SELF-ESTEEM SCALE

Interview #:
Current Date:
Locality:

Instruction: For each of the following statements, choose the response that applies to you based on this scale:

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly Agree

1. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
4. I am able to do things as well as most people.
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. I certainly feel useless at times.
10. At times I think I am not good at all.

APPENDIX F

CONSENT FOR VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

STUDY OF THE ATTACHMENT TO CHILDHOOD PLACES IN ADULT MEMORY AND THE SENSE OF WELL-BEING FOR BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANTS

CONSENT FOR VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

I volunteer to participate in this quantitative study and understand that:

1. I will be interviewed by Joao M. De Sa using a guided interview format consisting of twenty-four questions and in addition I will be answering a questionnaire of one-hundred twenty-four questions.
2. The questions I will be answering address my view on issues related to attachment to childhood place and the sense of well-being for Brazilian immigrants. I understand that the primary purpose of this research is to identify the roles might play memories of attachment to childhood places in the well-being of Brazilian adult immigrants in United States.
3. The interview will be tape recorded to facilitate analysis of the data. The questionnaire will be answered in written form.
4. My name will not be used, nor I will be identified personally in any way or at any time.
5. I may withdraw from part or all of this study at any time.
6. I have the right to review material prior to the final oral exam or other publication.
7. I understand that results from this survey will be included in Joao M. De Sa doctoral dissertation and may also be included in manuscripts submitted to professional journals for publication.
8. I am free to participate or not to participate without prejudice.
9. Because of the number of participants, approximately one-hundred (100), I understand that there is a minimal risk that I may be identified as a participant of this study.

Researcher's Signature
Date:

Participants' Signature
Date:

STUDY OF THE ATTACHMENT TO CHILDHOOD PLACES
IN ADULT MEMORY AND THE
SENSE OF WELL-BEING FOR BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANTS

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9. Because of the number of participants, approximately one-hundred (100), I understand that there is a minimal risk that I may be identified as a participant of this study.

Researcher's Signature
Date:

Participants' Signature
Date:

KEEP THIS COPY FOR YOUR OWN RECORDS

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